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## PROCOPIUS

### III

PROCOPIUS.

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VOLUME I.  
THE PERSIAN WAR.

VOLUME II.  
THE VANDALIC WAR.



# PROCOPIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
H. B. DEWING

IN SIX VOLUMES

III

HISTORY OF THE WARS, BOOKS V AND VI



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN  
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

MCMXIX

508  
PHYSICS

CLASSE 875.

23070 (H. Bosanquet (d))

DATE Feb. 5 1904

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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

HISTORY OF THE WARS:

BOOK V

THE GOTHIC WAR

## ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ

### ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΣ

#### I

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ πράγματα τῇδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ πόλεμον τὸν Γοτθικὸν εἶμι, ἐπειπὼν πρότερον ὅσα Γότθοις τε καὶ Ἰταλιώταις πρὸ τούδε τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι ξυνέβη.

- 2 Ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ βασιλεύοντος Αὐγουστος εἶχε τὸ ἐσπέριον κράτος, ὃν καὶ Αὐγούστουλον ὑποκοριζόμενοι ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι δὴ μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἦν οἱ Ὀρέστης ὁ πατὴρ διωκεῖτο ξυνετώ-  
3 τατος ὢν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνῳ τιτὶ πρότερον Σκίρους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα Γοτθικὰ ἔθνη ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγόμενοι· ἐξ οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τε Ἀλαρίχον καὶ Ἀττίλα<sup>1</sup> συνηνέχθη παθεῖν ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν  
4 λόγοις ἐρρήθη. ὅσῳ τε<sup>2</sup> τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἤκμαζε, τοσούτῳ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἀξίωμα ἤδη ὑπέληγε, καὶ τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ

<sup>1</sup> Ἀττίλα Grotius and Maltretus : ἀντάλα MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ὅσῳ τε Scaliger : ὅτε MSS.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA  
HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK V  
THE GOTHIC WAR

I

SUCH, then, were the fortunes of the Romans in Libya. I shall now proceed to the Gothic War, first telling all that befell the Goths and Italians before this war.

During the reign of Zeno in Byzantium the power in the West was held by Augustus, whom the Romans used to call by the diminutive name Augustulus because he took over the empire while still a lad, his father Orestes, a man of the greatest discretion, administering it as regent for him. <sup>474-491 A.D.</sup> Now it happened that the Romans a short time before had induced the Sciri and Alani and certain other Gothic nations to form an alliance with them; and from that time on it was their fortune to suffer at the hand of Alaric and Attila those things which have been told in the previous narrative.<sup>1</sup> And in proportion as the barbarian element among them became strong, just so did the prestige of the Roman soldiers forthwith decline, and under the fair name of alliance

July 31,  
475 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Book III. ii. 7 ff., iv. 29 ff.

- τῆς ξυμμαχίας ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπηλύδων  
 τυραννιούμενοι ἐβιάζοντο· ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἀνέδειν  
 ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οὐ τι ἐκουσίους ἠνάγκαζον καὶ  
 5 τελευτῶντες ξύμπαντας πρὸς αὐτοὺς νείμασθαι  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀγροὺς ἡξίουں. ὦν δὴ τὸ  
 τριτημόριον σφίσι διδόναι τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐκέλευον,  
 ταῦτά τε ποιήσῃν αὐτὸν ὡς ἡκιστα ὁμολογοῦντα  
 6 εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ἦν δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Ὀδοάκρος  
 ὄνομα, ἐς τοὺς βασιλέως δορυφόρους τελῶν·  
 ὃς αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> τότε ποιήσῃν τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα  
 ὡμολόγησεν, ἥνπερ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατα-  
 7 στήσονται. οὕτω τε τὴν τυραννίδα παραλαβὼν  
 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν τὸν βασιλέα κακὸν ἔδρασεν, ἐν  
 8 ἰδιώτου δὲ λόγῳ βιοτεύειν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασε. καὶ  
 τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ τριτημόριον τῶν ἀγρῶν παρα-  
 σχόμενος τούτῳ τε τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτοὺς βεβαιότατα  
 ἐταιρισάμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐς ἔτη ἐκρατύνετο  
 δέκα.
- 9 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ Γότθοι, οἳ  
 ἐπὶ Θράκης δόντος βασιλέως κατῴκηντο, ὅπλα  
 ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, Θεουδερίχου σφίσιν ἡγούμενου,  
 ἀντήρην, ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου τε καὶ ἐς τὸν ὑπάτων  
 10 δίφρον ἀναβεβηκότος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. Ζήνων δὲ  
 βασιλεύς, τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι ἐπιστάμενος,  
 Θεουδερίχῳ παρήνει ἐς Ἰταλίαν πορεύεσθαι καὶ  
 Ὀδοάκρῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντι τὴν ἐσπερίαν ἐπικράτη-  
 11 σιν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Γότθοις πορίζεσθαι. ἄμεινον γάρ  
 οἱ εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἤκοντι,

<sup>1</sup> ὃς αὐτοῖς Grotius : οἷς αὐτοῖς MSS.



they were more and more tyrannized over by the intruders and oppressed by them; so that the barbarians ruthlessly forced many other measures upon the Romans much against their will and finally demanded that they should divide with them the entire land of Italy. And indeed they commanded Orestes to give them the third part of this, and when he would by no means agree to do so, they killed him immediately.

July 28,  
476 A.D.

Now there was a certain man among the Romans named Odoacer, one of the bodyguards of the emperor, and he at that time agreed to carry out their commands, on condition that they should set him upon the throne. And when he had received the supreme power in this way, he did the emperor no further harm, but allowed him to live thenceforth as a private citizen. And by giving the third part of the land to the barbarians, and in this way gaining their allegiance most firmly, he held the supreme power securely for ten years.<sup>1</sup>

July 23,  
476 A.D.

It was at about this same time that the Goths also, who were dwelling in Thrace with the permission of the emperor, took up arms against the Romans under the leadership of Theoderic, a man who was of patrician rank and had attained the consular office in Byzantium. But the Emperor Zeno, who understood how to settle to his advantage any situation in which he found himself, advised Theoderic to proceed to Italy, attack Odoacer, and win for himself and the Goths the western dominion. For it was better for him, he said, especially as he had attained the senatorial dignity, to force out a usurper and be ruler

<sup>1</sup> Odoacer was defeated and shut up in Ravenna by Theoderic in 489, surrendered to him in 493, and was put to death in the same year. His independent rule (*tyrannis*) therefore lasted thirteen years.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τύραννον βιασαμένῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν  
ἄρχειν ἀπάντων ἢ βασιλεῖ διαμαχομένῳ ἐς τόσον  
κινδύνου ἵεναι.

- 12 Θεωδέρικος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἐς Ἰταλίαν  
ἦει, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Γότθων λεὼς εἶπετο, παῖδάς  
τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι καὶ  
13 τὰ ἐπιπλα ὅσα φέρειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν. ἐπειδὴ τε  
κόλπου ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐγένοντο, διαπορθ-  
μεύεσθαι, νηῶν σφίσιν οὐ παρουσῶν, ἡκιστα  
εἶχον· περιόντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόλπου περίοδον  
14 ἐθνῶν. τούτοις δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀδόακρον ὑπαντιά-  
σαντες μάχαις<sup>1</sup> τε ἡσσηθέντες πολλαῖς ἐν τε  
Ῥαβέννῃ σὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶρξαν καὶ  
ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων ἰσχυροῖς  
15 οὔσι. καθεστηκότες δὲ εἰς πολιορκίαν οἱ Γότθοι  
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χωρία ξύμπαντα τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ  
ἐκάστῳ τετύχηκεν εἶλον, Καισῆναν δὲ τὸ φρού-  
ριον, ὅπερ σταδίοις τριακοσίοις Ῥαβέννης διέχει,  
Ῥάβεινάν τε αὐτήν, ἔνθα καὶ Ὀδόακρον συμ-  
πέπτωκεν εἶναι, οὔτε ὁμολογία οὔτε βία ἐλεῖν  
16 ἴσχυον. Ῥάβεινα γὰρ αὕτη ἐν πεδίῳ μὲν κεῖται  
ὑπτίῳ ἐς τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου τὰ ἔσχατα, δυοῖν  
σταδίοις διειργομένη μέτρῳ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος  
εἶναι, οὐκ εὐέφοδος δὲ οὔτε ναυσὶν οὔτε πεζῶν  
17 στρατῷ φαίνεται οὔσα. αἱ τε γὰρ νῆες καταίρειν  
ἐς τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἡκιστα ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ αὕτη  
ἢ θάλασσα ἐμπόδιός ἐστι βράχος ποιουμένη οὐχ  
ἡσσον ἢ κατὰ σταδίους τριάκοντα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
τὴν ἡϊόνα ταύτην, καίπερ τοῖς πλέουσιν ἄγχιστα

<sup>1</sup> μάχαις editors: μάχης V, μάχη, followed by a lacuna of two words, L.

over all the Romans and Italians than to incur the great risk of a decisive struggle with the emperor.

Now Theoderic was pleased with the suggestion and went to Italy, and he was followed by the Gothic host, who placed in their waggons the women and children and such of their chattels as they were able to take with them. And when they came near the Ionian Gulf,<sup>1</sup> they were quite unable to cross over it, since they had no ships at hand; and so they made the journey around the gulf, advancing through the land of the Taulantii and the other nations of that region. Here the forces of Odoacer encountered them, but after being defeated in many battles, they shut themselves up with their leader in Ravenna and such other towns as were especially strong. And the Goths laid siege to these places and captured them all, in one way or another, as it chanced in each case, except that they were unable to capture, either by surrender or by storm, the fortress of Caesena,<sup>2</sup> which is three hundred stades distant from Ravenna, and Ravenna itself, where Odoacer happened to be. For this city of Ravenna lies in a level plain at the extremity of the Ionian Gulf, lacking two stades of being on the sea, and it is so situated as not to be easily approached either by ships or by a land army. Ships cannot possibly put in to shore there because the sea itself prevents them by forming shoals for not less than thirty stades; consequently the beach at Ravenna, although to the eye of mariners it is very

489 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the whole Adriatic; cf. chap. xv. 16, note.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Cesena.

- 18 ὁρωμένην, τῇ τοῦ βράχους περιουσία ἐκαστάτῳ  
 ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐσβατὴν  
 οὐδαμῇ γίγνεται. Πιάδος τε γὰρ ὁ ποταμός, ὃν  
 καὶ Ἑριδανὸν καλοῦσιν, ἐξ ὀρίων<sup>1</sup> τῶν Κελτικῶν  
 ταύτῃ φερόμενος καὶ ποταμοὶ ἄλλοι ναυσίποροι  
 19 τες ἀμφίρρυτον ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν. ἐνταῦθα  
 γίγνεται τι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην θαυμάσιον οἶον.  
 ἡ θάλασσα πρῶτ' ποιουμένη σχῆμα ποταμοῦ  
 ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς γῆν ἀναβαίνει καὶ  
 πλοῖμον αὐτὴν παρεχομένη ἐν μέσῃ ἡπείρῳ,  
 αὐτὴς ἀναλύουσα τὸν πορθμὸν ἀναστρέφει ἀμφὶ  
 δείλῃν ὀψίαν, καὶ ἐφ' αὐτὴν ξυνάγει τὸ ρεῦμα.  
 20 ὅσοι οὖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομίζειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 ἢ ἐνθένδε ἐκφέρειν κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἢ κατ' ἄλλην  
 ἔχουσιν αἰτίαν, τὰ φορτία ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέ-  
 μενοι, κατασπίασαντές τε αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ οὐ  
 δὴ ὁ πορθμὸς γίνεσθαι εἶωθε, προσδέχονται τὴν  
 21 ἐπιρροήν. καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὕτη ἀφίκηται, τά τε  
 πλοῖα κατὰ βραχὺ ἐκ γῆς ἐπαιρόμενα πλεῖ καὶ  
 οἱ ἀμφὶ<sup>2</sup> ναῦται ἔργου ἐχόμενοι ναυτίλλονται  
 22 ἤδη. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς  
 ἅπασαν τὴν ἐκείνῃ<sup>3</sup> ἀκτὴν ἐς αἰὲ γίγνεται, ἄχρι  
 23 ἐς Ἀκυλῆϊαν πόλιν. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ ταῦτά ἐς  
 τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον γίνεσθαι εἶωθεν, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα  
 μὲν βραχὺ φαίνεται τῆς σελήνης τὸ φῶς, οὐδὲ ἡ  
 τῆς θαλάσσης πρόοδος ἰσχυρὰ γίγνεται, μετὰ  
 δὲ τὴν πρώτην διχότομον ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν

<sup>1</sup> ὀρίων MSS.: ὀρέων ("mountains") editors, cf. VIII. v. 30.

<sup>2</sup> ἀμφὶ MSS.: ἀμφ' αὐτὰ or ἀμφὶ ταῦτα Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνῃ Maltretus: ἐκείνης MSS.



near at hand, is in reality very far away by reason of the great extent of the shoal-water. And a land army cannot approach it at all; for the river Po, also called the Eridanus, which flows past Ravenna, coming from the boundaries of Celtica, and other navigable rivers together with some marshes, encircle it on all sides and so cause the city to be surrounded by water. In that place a very wonderful thing takes place every day. For early in the morning the sea forms a kind of river and comes up over the land for the distance of a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller and becomes navigable in the midst of the mainland, and then in the late afternoon it turns back again, causing the inlet to disappear, and gathers the stream to itself.<sup>1</sup> All those, therefore, who have to convey provisions into the city or carry them out from there for trade or for any other reason, place their cargoes in boats, and drawing them down to the place where the inlet is regularly formed, they await the inflow of the water. And when this comes, the boats are lifted little by little from the ground and float, and the sailors on them set to work and from that time on are seafaring men. And this is not the only place where this happens, but it is the regular occurrence along the whole coast in this region as far as the city of Aquileia. However, it does not always take place in the same way at every time, but when the light of the moon is faint, the advance of the sea is not strong either, but from the first<sup>2</sup> half moon until the

<sup>1</sup> He means that an estuary (*περὶ ἡμῶν*) is formed by the rising tide in the morning, and the water flows out again as the tide falls in the evening.

<sup>2</sup> From the first until the third quarter.

καρτερά μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιρροὴ γίνεσθαι πέφυκε.  
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδέ πη ἔχει.

- 24 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον ἔτος Γότθοις τε καὶ Θεωδερῖχῳ  
Ῥάβενναν πολιορκοῦσιν ἐτέτριπτο ἡδῆ, οἱ τε  
Γότθοι ἀχθόμενοι τῇ προσεδρεία καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ  
Ῥοδόακρον πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ,  
ὑπὸ διαλλακτῇ τῷ Ῥαβέννης ἱερεὶ ἐς λόγους  
ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θεωδερῖχός τε καὶ  
Ῥοδόακρος ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ δίαι-  
25 ταν ἔξουσι. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διεσώσαντο τὰ  
ξυγκείμενα, μετὰ δὲ Θεωδερῖχος Ῥοδόακρον λα-  
βὼν, ὡς φασιν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενος, νῶ<sup>1</sup>  
τε δολερῶ καλέσας ἐπὶ θοίνην, ἔκτεινε, καὶ ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ βαρβάρων τῶν πολεμίων προσποιησάμενος  
ὅσους περιεῖναι ξυνέπεσεν αὐτὸς ἔσχε τὸ Γότθων  
26 τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος. καὶ βασιλέως μὲν  
τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τοῦ σχήματος οὔτε τοῦ ὀνό-  
ματος ἐπιβατεῦσαι ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥῆξ διεβίου  
καλούμενος (οὕτω γὰρ σφῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας  
καλεῖν οἱ βάρβαροι<sup>2</sup> νενομίκασι), τῶν μέντοι  
κατηκόων τῶν αὐτοῦ προὔστη ξύμπαντα περι-  
βαλλόμενος ὅσα τῷ φύσει βασιλεῖ ἡρμοσται.  
27 δικαιοσύνης τε γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐπεμελήσατο καὶ  
τοὺς νόμους ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ διεσώσατο, ἔκ τε  
βαρβάρων τῶν περιοίκων τὴν χώραν ἀσφαλῶς  
διεφύλαξε, ξυνέσεώς τε<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐς ἄκρον  
28 ἐληλύθει ὡς μάλιστα. καὶ ἀδίκημα σχεδὸν τι  
οὐδὲν οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εἰργάζετο  
οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκεχειρηκότι ἐπέτρεπε,

<sup>1</sup> νῶ V: τρόπῳ L.

<sup>2</sup> καλεῖν οἱ βάρβαροι: καλεῖν οἷα βάρβαροι V, οἱ βάρβαροι  
καλεῖν L. <sup>3</sup> τε L: τε γὰρ V and Suidas.

second the inflow has a tendency to be greater. So much for this matter.

But when the third year had already been spent by the Goths and Theoderic in their siege of Ravenna, the Goths, who were weary of the siege, and the followers of Odoacer, who were hard pressed by the lack of provisions, came to an agreement with each other through the mediation of the priest of Ravenna, the understanding being that both Theoderic and Odoacer should reside in Ravenna on terms of complete equality. And for some time they observed the agreement; but afterward Theoderic caught Odoacer, as they say, plotting against him, and bidding him to a feast with treacherous intent slew him,<sup>1</sup> and in this way, after gaining the adherence of such of the hostile barbarians as chanced to survive, he himself secured the supremacy over both Goths and Italians. And though he did not claim the right to assume either the garb or the name of emperor of the Romans, but was called "rex" to the end of his life (for thus the barbarians are accustomed to call their leaders),<sup>2</sup> still, in governing his own subjects, he invested himself with all the qualities which appropriately belong to one who is by birth an emperor. For he was exceedingly careful to observe justice, he preserved the laws on a sure basis, he protected the land and kept it safe from the barbarians dwelling round about, and attained the highest possible degree of wisdom and manliness. And he himself committed scarcely a single act of injustice against his subjects, nor would he brook such conduct on the part of

<sup>1</sup> See note in Bury's edition of Gibbon, Vol. IV. p. 180. for an interesting account of this event.

<sup>2</sup> This is a general observation; the title "rex" was current among the barbarians to indicate a position inferior to that of a βασιλεύς or "imperator"; cf. VI. xiv. 38. II

- πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τῶν χωρίων τὴν μοῖραν ἐν σφίσιν  
 αὐτοῖς Γότθοι ἐνείμαντο ἥνπερ Ὀδόακρος τοῖς  
 29 στασιώταις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν. ἦν τε ὁ Θεω-  
 δέριχος λόγῳ μὲν τύραννος, ἔργῳ δὲ βασιλεὺς  
 ἀληθῆς τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἡὺδοκιμηκότων οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν,<sup>1</sup> ἔρως τε αὐτοῦ ἐν  
 τε Γότθοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις πολὺς ἤκμασε, καὶ  
 30 ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου τρόπου. ἐτέρων γὰρ  
 ἕτερα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις αἰεὶ αἵρουμένων τὴν  
 ἐφεστῶσαν ἀρχὴν ξυμβαίνει ἀρέσκειν μὲν ἐν τῷ  
 παραντίκα οἷς ἂν ἐν ἡδονῇ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα ἦ,  
 λυπεῖν δὲ ὧν<sup>2</sup> τῆς γνώμης ἀπ' ἐναντίας χωρή-  
 31 σιεν. ἔτη δὲ ἐπιβιούς ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα  
 ἐτελεύτησε, φοβερὸς μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγωνὺς  
 ἅπασι, πόθον δὲ αὐτοῦ πολὺν τινα ἐς τοὺς ὑπη-  
 κούους ἀπολιπών. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.  
 32 Σύμμαχος καὶ Βοέτιος, ὁ τούτου γαμβρός,  
 εὐπατρίδαι μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦστην, πρῶτῳ δὲ  
 βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπάτῳ ἐγενέσθην ἄμ-  
 33 φῳ. φιλοσοφίαν δὲ ἀσκήσαντε καὶ δικαιοσύνης  
 ἐπιμελησαμένῳ οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν, πολλοῖς τε ἀστῶν<sup>3</sup>  
 καὶ ξένων χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν ἰασαμένῳ καὶ  
 δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα χωρήσαντε ἄνδρας ἐς φθύνου  
 34 τοὺς πονηροτάτους<sup>4</sup> ἐπηγαγέτην. οἷς δὴ συκο-  
 φαντοῦσι Θεωδέριχος ἀναπεισθεὶς ἅτε νεωτέροις  
 πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῦντε τὸ ἄνδρε τούτῳ ἔκτεινε  
 καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνίσταρα  
 35 ἐποιήσατο. δειπνοῦντι δὲ οἱ ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις  
 ὕστερον ἰχθύος μεγάλου κεφαλὴν οἱ θεράποντες

<sup>1</sup> ἦσσαν L: ἦσσαν V and Suidas.

<sup>2</sup> ὧν V: ἦν L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀστῶν V: αὐτῶν L.

<sup>4</sup> πονηροτάτους V: πικροτάτους L.

anyone else who attempted it, except, indeed, that the Goths distributed among themselves the portion of the lands which Odoacer had given to his own partisans. And although in name Theoderic was a usurper, yet in fact he was as truly an emperor as any who have distinguished themselves in this office from the beginning; and love for him among both Goths and Italians grew to be great, and that too contrary to the ordinary habits of men. For in all states men's preferences are divergent, with the result that the government in power pleases for the moment only those with whom its acts find favour, but offends those whose judgment it violates. But Theoderic reigned for thirty-seven years, and when he died, he 526 A.D. had not only made himself an object of terror to all his enemies, but he also left to his subjects a keen sense of bereavement at his loss. And he died in the following manner.

Symmachus and his son-in-law Boetius were men of noble and ancient lineage, and both had been leading men<sup>1</sup> in the Roman senate and had been consuls. But because they practised philosophy and were mindful of justice in a manner surpassed by no other men, relieving the destitution of both citizens and strangers by generous gifts of money, they attained great fame and thus led men of the basest sort to envy them. Now such persons slandered them to Theoderic, and he, believing their slanders, put these two men to death, on the ground that they were setting about a revolution, and made their property confiscate to the public treasury. And a few days later, while he was dining, the servants set before him

<sup>1</sup> Probably a reminiscence of the "princeps senatus" of classical times.

- παρετίθεσαν. αὕτη Θεουδερίχῳ ἔδοξεν ἡ κεφαλὴ  
 36 Συμμάχου νεοσφαγοῦς εἶναι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὁδοῦ-  
 σιν ἐς χεῖλος τὸ κάτω ἐμπεπηγόσι, τοῖς δὲ  
 37 ὀφθαλμοῖς βλοσυρόν τι ἐς αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> καὶ μανικὸν  
 ὀρώσιν, ἀπειλοῦντί οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐφάκει. περι-  
 δεῖς δὲ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τοῦ τέρατος γεγονώς  
 καὶ ῥιγώσας ἐκτόπως ἐς κοίτην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπε-  
 χώρησε δρόμῳ, τριβώνιά τε πολλά οἱ ἐπιθεῖναι  
 38 κελεύσας ἡσύχαζε. μετὰ δὲ ἅπαντα εἰς Ἑλπίδιον  
 τὸν ἱατρὸν τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐξενεγκὼν τὴν ἐς  
 Σύμμαχόν τε καὶ Βοέτιον ἀμαρτάδα ἔκλαιεν.  
 39 ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιαλγίσας τῇ ξυμφορᾷ  
 οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀδίκημα τοῦτο  
 πρῶτόν τε καὶ τελευταῖον ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοὺς  
 αὐτοῦ δράσας, ὅτι δὴ οὐ διερευνησάμενος, ὥσπερ  
 εἰώθει, τὴν περὶ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν γνῶσιν ἤνεγκε.

## II

- Τελευτήσαντός τε αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε τὴν βασι-  
 λείαν Ἀταλάριχος, ὁ Θεουδερίχου θυγατριδοῦς,  
 ὁκτὼ γεγονώς ἔτη καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀμαλα-  
 2 σούνθῃ τρεφόμενος. ὁ γάρ οἱ πατὴρ ἤδη ἐξ  
 ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. χρόνῳ τε οὐ πολλῷ  
 ὕστερον Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 3 παρέλαβεν. Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δέ, ἅτε τοῦ παιδὸς  
 ἐπίτροπος οὔσα, τὴν ἀρχὴν διωκεῖτο, ξυνέσεως  
 μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλθοῦσα, τῆς  
 δὲ φύσεως ἐς ἄγαν τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἐνδεικνυμένη.  
 4 ὅσον τε χρόνον τῆς πολιτείας προὔστη, οὐδένα

<sup>1</sup> ἐς αὐτὸν V: om. L.



the head of a great fish. This seemed to Theoderic to be the head of Symmachus newly slain. Indeed, with its teeth set in its lower lip and its eyes looking at him with a grim and insane stare, it did resemble exceedingly a person threatening him. And becoming greatly frightened at the extraordinary prodigy and shivering excessively, he retired running to his own chamber, and bidding them place many covers upon him, remained quiet. But afterwards he disclosed to his physician Elpidius all that had happened and wept for the wrong he had done Symmachus and Boetius. Then, having lamented and grieved exceedingly over the unfortunate occurrence, he died not long afterward. This was the first and last act of injustice which he committed toward his subjects, and the cause of it was that he had not made a thorough investigation, as he was accustomed to do, before passing judgment on the two men.

## II

AFTER his death the kingdom was taken over by 526 A.D.  
 Atalaric, the son of Theoderic's daughter; he had reached the age of eight years and was being reared under the care of his mother Amalasuntha. For his father had already departed from among men. And not long afterward Justinian succeeded to the imperial 527 A.D.  
 power in Byzantium. Now Amalasuntha, as guardian of her child, administered the government, and she proved to be endowed with wisdom and regard for justice in the highest degree, displaying to a great extent the masculine temper. As long as she stood at the head of the government she inflicted punish-

- τῶν πάντων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐκόλασεν ἢ  
 5 χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Γότθοις ξυνε-  
 χώρησεν ἐς τὴν ἐς ἐκείνους<sup>1</sup> ἀδικίαν ὀργῶσιν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Συμμάχου τε καὶ Βοετίου παισὶ  
 6 τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπέδωκεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα  
 τὸν παῖδα ἐβούλετο τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσι τὰ  
 ἐς τὴν δίαίταν ὁμότροπον καταστήσασθαι καὶ  
 7 φοιτᾶν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ ἡδὴ ἠνάγκαζε. τρεῖς τε  
 ἀπολεξαμένη τῶν ἐν Γότθοις γερόντων οὕσπερ  
 ἠπίστατο μᾶλλον ἀπάντων ξυνετούς τε καὶ ἐπι-  
 εικεῖς εἶναι, ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι Ἀταλαρίχῳ ἐκέλευε.  
 8 Γότθοις δὲ ταῦτα οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκε. τῆς<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἐς  
 τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀδικίας ἐπιθυμία βαρβαρικώτερον  
 9 πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ἠθέλον. καὶ ποτε ἡ μὲν  
 μήτηρ ἀμαρτάνοντά τι ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι τὸν παῖδα  
 λαβοῦσα ἐρράπισε· καὶ ὃς δεδακρυμένος ἐς τὴν  
 10 ἀνδρωνίτιν ἐνθένδε ἀπῆλθε. Γότθοι δὲ αὐτῷ  
 ἐντυχόντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ  
 λοιδορούμενοι ἰσχυρίζοντο βούλεσθαι αὐτὴν τὸν  
 παῖδα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅπως  
 αὐτὴ ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς κοίτην ἐλθοῦσα Γότθων τε  
 11 καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄρχοι. ξυλληγέστες  
 τε, ὅσοι δὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγιμοι ἦσαν, καὶ παρὰ  
 τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἐλθόντες ἠτιῶντο οὐκ ὀρθῶς  
 σφίσιν οὐδὲ ἢ συμφέρεи τὸν βασιλέα παιδεύεσθαι.  
 12 γράμματά τε γὰρ παρὰ πολὺ κεχωρίσθαι ἀν-  
 δρίας, καὶ διδασκαλίας γερόντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς  
 τε τὸ δειλὸν καὶ ταπεινὸν ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ  
 13 ἐπὶ πλείστον. δεῖν τοίνυν τὸν ἐν τινὶ ἔργῳ τολ-  
 μητὴν τε καὶ δόξῃ μέγαν ἐσόμενον, φόβου τοῦ ἐκ  
 διδασκάλων ἀπαλλαγέντα, τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις

<sup>1</sup> ἐς ἐκείνους V: ἐκείνων L.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς V: τῇ L.



ment upon no Roman in any case either by touching his person or by imposing a fine. Furthermore, she did not give way to the Goths in their mad desire to wrong them, but she even restored to the children of Symmachus and Boetius their fathers' estates. Now Amalasuntha wished to make her son resemble the Roman princes in his manner of life, and was already compelling him to attend the school of a teacher of letters. And she chose out three among the old men of the Goths whom she knew to be prudent and refined above all the others, and bade them live with Atalaric. But the Goths were by no means pleased with this. For because of their eagerness to wrong their subjects they wished to be ruled by him more after the barbarian fashion. On one occasion the mother, finding the boy doing some wrong in his chamber, chastised him; and he in tears went off thence to the men's apartments. And some Goths who met him made a great to-do about this, and reviling Amalasuntha insisted that she wished to put the boy out of the world as quickly as possible, in order that she might marry a second husband and with him rule over the Goths and Italians. And all the notable men among them gathered together, and coming before Amalasuntha made the charge that their king was not being educated correctly from their point of view nor to his own advantage. For letters, they said, are far removed from manliness, and the teaching of old men results for the most part in a cowardly and submissive spirit. Therefore the man who is to shew daring in any work and be great in renown ought to be freed from the timidity which teachers inspire and to take his training in arms.

- 14 μελέτας ποιείσθαι. ἔλεγον δὲ ὥς οὐδὲ Θεωδέριχος ποτε Γότθων τινὰς τοὺς παῖδας ἐς γραμματιστοῦ
- 15 πέμπειν ἐφῶν· λέγειν γὰρ ἅπασιν ὥς, ἥνπερ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκύτους ἐπιγένηται δέος, οὐ μήποτε ξίφους ἢ δορατίου ὑπερφρονεῖν ἀξιώ-
- 16 σουσιν. ἐννοεῖν τε αὐτὴν ἐδικαίουσαν ὥς ἄρα οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Θεωδέριχος χώρας τε τοσαύτης κύριος γεγονὼς καὶ βασιλείαν οὐδαμύθεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν περιβαλλόμενος τελευτήσῃ, καίπερ<sup>1</sup>
- 17 γραμμάτων οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοὴν ἔχων. “Οὐκοῦν, ὦ δέσποινα,” ἔφασαν, “παιδαγωγοὺς μὲν τούτους χαίρειν τανῦν ἔα, σὺ δὲ Ἀταλαρίχῳ ὁμοδιαίτους ἡλικίας τινὰς δίδου, οἵπερ αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡλικίαν ξυνακμάζοντες ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν<sup>3</sup> κατὰ γε τὸν βάρβαρον νόμον ὁρμήσουσι.”
- 18 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα, οὐκ ἐπήνεσε μὲν, δείσασα δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλήν, δόκησιν τε παρείχετο ὥς πρὸς ἡδονῆς αὐτῇ οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ξυνεχώρει ἅπαντα ὅσων οἱ
- 19 βάρβαροι αὐτῆς ἔχρηζον. τῶν τε γερόντων Ἀταλάριχον ἐκλελοιπότων παῖδες αὐτῷ τινες ξυνῆσαν κοινωνοὶ τῆς διαίτης ἐσόμενοι, οὐπῶ μὲν ἡβηκότες, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ προτερεύοντες, οἵπερ αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς ἡβὴν ἦλθεν, ἐς τε μέθην καὶ γυναικῶν μίξεις παρακαλοῦντες, κακοήθη τε διαφερόντως εἶναι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας ἀπει-
- 20 θέστερον κατεστήσαντο. ὥστε οὐδὲ μεταποιεῖσθαι αὐτῆς τὸ παράπαν ἡξίου, καίπερ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἤδη ξυνισταμένων, οἳ γε καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀναχωρεῖν τὴν ἀνθρω-

<sup>1</sup> καίπερ Haury : καὶ περὶ MSS., καίπερ περὶ Scaliger.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν V : αὐτῷ L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀρετὴν V Suidas : ἀρχὴν L.

They added that even Theoderic would never allow any of the Goths to send their children to school ; for he used to say to them all that, if the fear of the strap once came over them, they would never have the resolution to despise sword or spear. And they asked her to reflect that her father Theoderic before he died had become master of all this territory and had invested himself with a kingdom which was his by no sort of right, although he had not so much as heard of letters. “Therefore, O Queen,” they said, “have done with these tutors now, and do you give to Atalaric some men of his own age to be his companions, who will pass through the period of youth with him and thus give him an impulse toward that excellence which is in keeping with the custom of barbarians.”

When Amalasuntha heard this, although she did not approve, yet because she feared the plotting of these men, she made it appear that their words found favour with her, and granted everything the barbarians desired of her. And when the old men had left Atalaric, he was given the company of some boys who were to share his daily life,—lads who had not yet come of age but were only a little in advance of him in years ; and these boys, as soon as he came of age, by enticing him to drunkenness and to intercourse with women, made him an exceptionally depraved youth, and of such stupid folly that he was disinclined to follow his mother’s advice. Consequently he utterly refused to champion her cause, although the barbarians were by now openly leaguings together against her ; for they were boldly commanding the

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- 21 πον ἀνέδην ἐκέλευον. Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ οὔτε κατωρρώδησε τὴν τῶν Γότθων ἐπιβουλὴν οὔτε οἷα γυνὴ ἐμαλθακίσθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐνδεικνυμένη, τρεῖς ἀπολέξασα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις λογιμωτάτους τε καὶ αὐτῇ αἰτιωτάτους τῆς στάσεως, ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσχατίας ἵεναι, οὐχ ἅμα μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἀλλήλων· τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν χώραν φυλάξωσιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου. ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι διὰ τε τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν (ξυνήεσαν<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἔτι καὶ<sup>2</sup> μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες) Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ<sup>3</sup> τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξηρτύοντο.

- Ἄπερ οὐκέτι φέρειν ἢ γυνὴ οἷα τε οὔσα ἐπενόει  
23 τοιάδε. πέμψασα ἐς Βυζάντιον Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἴπερ αὐτῷ βουλομένη εἴη Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν τὴν Θευδερίχου παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκειν· βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπαλ-  
24 λίσσεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα. βασιλεὺς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς ἐλθεῖν τε τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκέλευε καὶ τῶν Ἐπιδάμνου οἴκων<sup>4</sup> τὸν κάλλιστον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπέστελλε γενέσθαι, ὅπως ἐπειδὰν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, καταλύοι τε αὐτόσε καὶ χρόνον διατρίψασα ὅσον ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη, οὕτω  
25 δὴ κομίζεται ἐς Βυζάντιον. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἔγνω, ἄνδρας ἀπολέξασα Γότθους, δραστηρίους τε καὶ αὐτῇ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεύουσ.

<sup>1</sup> συνήεσαν L: συνίεσαν V.      <sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἔτι καὶ V: καίπερ L.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ V: καὶ ἀμαλασοῦνθη L.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν Ἐπιδάμνου οἴκων Hauriy: τῶν ἐπιδάμων οἶκον V: τὸν ἐπιδάμνω οἶκον L.

woman to withdraw from the palace. But Amalasuntha neither became frightened at the plotting of the Goths nor did she, womanlike, weakly give way, but still displaying the dignity befitting a queen, she chose out three men who were the most notable among the barbarians and at the same time the most responsible for the sedition against her, and bade them go to the limits of Italy, not together, however, but as far apart as possible from one another; but it was made to appear that they were being sent in order to guard the land against the enemy's attack. But nevertheless these men by the help of their friends and relations, who were all still in communication with them, even travelling a long journey for the purpose, continued to make ready the details of their plot against Amalasuntha.

And the woman, being unable to endure these things any longer, devised the following plan. Sending to Byzantium she enquired of the Emperor Justinian whether it was his wish that Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theoderic, should come to him; for she wished to depart from Italy as quickly as possible. And the emperor, being pleased by the suggestion, bade her come and sent orders that the finest of the houses in Epidamnus should be put in readiness, in order that when Amalasuntha should come there, she might lodge in it and after spending such time there as she wished might then betake herself to Byzantium. When Amalasuntha learned this, she chose out certain Goths who were energetic men and especially devoted

- ἔστελλεν ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς τρεῖς ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, ἅτε τῆς στάσεως αἰτιωτάτους αὐτῇ  
 26 γενομένους. αὐτὴ δὲ ἄλλα τε χρήματα καὶ τετρακόσια χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια ἐν νηὶ μιᾷ ἐνθε-  
 μένη, ἐς ταύτην τε ἐμβιβάσασα τῶν οἱ πιστοτά-  
 των<sup>1</sup> τινάς, πλεῖν μὲν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Ἐπίδαμνοι,  
 ἀφικομένους δὲ ὀρμίζεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ ταύτης  
 λιμένι, τῶν δὲ φορτίων, ἕως αὐτῇ ἐπιστέλλοι.  
 27 μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἐκφορεῖν τῆς νεώς. ἔπρασσε δὲ  
 ταῦτα, ὅπως, ἣν μὲν ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς τρεῖς  
 πύθηται, μέντοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ναῦν μετα-  
 πέμποιτο, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχουσα πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 δέος· ἣν δὲ αὐτῶν τινα περιεῖναι ξυμβαίνειν,  
 οὐδεμιᾶς οἱ ἀγαθῆς ἀπολελειμμένης ἐλπίδος,  
 πλεοὶ τε κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἐς γῆν τὴν βασιλέως  
 28 ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι διασώζοιτο. τοιαύτη μὲν  
 γνώμη Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν ναῦν  
 ἔπεμπε,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸν Ἐπιδαμνίων  
 λιμένα, οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες τὰ ἐντεταλμένα  
 29 ἐποιοῦν. ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον Ἀμαλασοῦνθα, τῶν  
 φόρων οἱ ἐξεργασμένων ἥπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν τε  
 ναῦν μετεπέμπετο καὶ μένουσα ἐπὶ Ῥαβείνης  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐκρατύνατο.

### III

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Γότθοις Θευδάτος ὄνομα, τῆς  
 Θευδερίχου ἀδελφῆς Ἀμαλαφρίδης υἱός, πόρρω  
 που ἤδη ἡλικίας ἦκων, λόγων μὲν Λατίνων μετα-  
 λαχὼν καὶ δογμάτων Πλατωνικῶν, πολέμων δὲ

<sup>1</sup> οἱ πιστοτάτων V: εὐπιστοτάτων L.

<sup>2</sup> ἔπεμπε V: ἔστελλε L.



to her and sent them to kill the three whom I have just mentioned, as having been chiefly responsible for the sedition against her. And she herself placed all her possessions, including four hundred centenaria<sup>1</sup> of gold, in a single ship and embarked on it some of those most faithful to her and bade them sail to Epidamnus, and, upon arriving there, to anchor in its harbour, but to discharge from the ship nothing whatever of its cargo until she herself should send orders. And she did this in order that, if she should learn that the three men had been destroyed, she might remain there and summon the ship back, having no further fear from her enemies; but if it should chance that any one of them was left alive, no good hope being left her, she purposed to sail with all speed and find safety for herself and her possessions in the emperor's land. Such was the purpose with which Amalasuntha was sending the ship to Epidamnus; and when it arrived at the harbour of that city, those who had the money carried out her orders. But a little later, when the murders had been accomplished as she wished, Amalasuntha summoned the ship back and remaining at Ravenna strengthened her rule and made it as secure as might be.

### III

THERE was among the Goths one Theodatus by name, son of Amalafrika, the sister of Theoderic, a man already of mature years, versed in the Latin literature and the teachings of Plato, but without

<sup>1</sup> See Book I. xxii. 4; III. vi. 2 and note.



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ἀμελετήτως παντάπασιν ἔχων, μακράν τε ἀπολε-  
 λειμμένος τοῦ δραστηρίου, ἐς μέντοι φιλοχρη-  
 2 ματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακώς. οὗτος ὁ Θευδάτος  
 πλείστων μὲν τῶν ἐν Τούσκοις χωρίων κύριος  
 ἐγεγόνει, βιαζόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ λειπόμενα τοὺς  
 κεκτημένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. γείτονα  
 3 γὰρ ἔχειν συμφορά τις Θευδάτῳ ἐδόκει εἶναι.  
 ταύτην αὐτῷ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα τὴν προθυμίαν ἀνα-  
 στέλλειν ἡπείγετο, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἡχθητό τε αὐτῇ  
 4 ἐς αἰὶ καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχεν. ἐβουλευέτο<sup>1</sup> οὖν Ἰου-  
 στινιανῷ βασιλεῖ Τουσκίαν ἐνδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ χρή-  
 ματά τε πολλὰ καὶ βουλῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀξίωμα  
 κομισάμενος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν διατρίβοι.  
 5 ταῦτα Θευδάτου βεβουλευμένου πρέσβεις ἐκ  
 Βυζαντίου παρὰ τὸν Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέα ἦκον, ὃ τε  
 τῆς Ἐφέσου ἱερεὺς Ὑπάτιος καὶ Δημήτριος ἐκ  
 τῶν ἐν Μακεδόσι Φιλίππων, δόξης ἕνεκεν ἦν  
 Χριστιανοὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν ἀμφι-  
 6 γνοοῦντες. τὰ δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενα ἐγὼ ἐξεπιστά-  
 μενος ὥς ἦκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι· ἀπονοίας γὰρ  
 μανιώδους τινὸς ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι διερευνᾶσθαι τὴν  
 7 τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν, ὅποια ποτέ ἐστιν. ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ  
 οὐδὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οἶμαι κατα-  
 ληπτά, μή τί γε διὴ τὰ εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν ἦκουτα.  
 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκινδύνως σεσιωπήσθω μόνῳ  
 8 τῷ<sup>2</sup> μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι<sup>3</sup> τὰ τετιμημένα. ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲν ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ ὅτιοῦν εἵποιμι ἢ ὅτι  
 ἀγαθός τε παντάπασιν εἶη καὶ ξύμπαντα ἐν τῇ  
 9 ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἔχει. λεγέτω δὲ ὥς πη ἕκαστος  
 γινώσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἶεται, καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐβουλευέτο L: ἐβούλετο V.      <sup>2</sup> τῷ Maltretus: τὸ MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπιστεῖσθαι V: ἀπιστῆσαι L.

any experience whatever in war and taking no part in active life, and yet extraordinarily devoted to the pursuit of money. This Theodatus had gained possession of most of the lands in Tuscany, and he was eager by violent methods to wrest the remainder from their owners. For to have a neighbour seemed to Theodatus a kind of misfortune. Now Amalasuntha was exerting herself to curb this desire of his, and consequently he was always vexed with her and resentful. He formed the plan, therefore, of handing over Tuscany to the Emperor Justinian, in order that, upon receiving from him a great sum of money and the senatorial dignity, he might pass the rest of his life in Byzantium. After Theodatus had formed this plan, there came from Byzantium to the chief priest of Rome two envoys, Hypatius, the priest of Ephesus, and Demetrius, from Philippi in Macedonia, to confer about a tenet of faith, which is a subject of disagreement and controversy among the Christians. As for the points in dispute, although I know them well, I shall by no means make mention of them; for I consider it a sort of insane folly to investigate the nature of God, enquiring of what sort it is. For man cannot, I think, apprehend even human affairs with accuracy, much less those things which pertain to the nature of God. As for me, therefore, I shall maintain a discreet silence concerning these matters, with the sole object that old and venerable beliefs may not be discredited. For I, for my part, will say nothing whatever about God save that He is altogether good and has all things in His power. But let each one say whatever he thinks he knows about these matters, both priest and layman.

ιδιώτης. Θεωδάτος δὲ συγγενόμενος λάθρα τοῖς πρέσβεσι τούτοις ἀγγέλλειν ἐπέστελλεν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένα εἶη, ἐξειπὼν ὅσα μοι ἄρτι δεδήλωται.

- 10 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀταλάρχος ἐς κραιπάλην ἐμπεπτωκὼς ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν νοσήματι μαρασμοῦ  
 11 ἦλω. διὸ δὴ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα διηπορεῖτο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς γνώμῃ τὸ θαρσεῖν εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦτο ἀτοπίας ἐληλακότος, ἦν τε αὐτὸς Ἀταλάρχος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζεται, οὐκ ᾔετο αὐτῇ τὸν βίον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι, Γότθων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις προσκεκρουκυῖα. διὸ δὴ τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος ἐνδιδόναι Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅπως αὐτῇ σώζοιτο, ἠθέλεν.  
 13 ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀνὴρ ἐκ βουλῆς, σὺν τε  
 14 Δημητρίῳ καὶ Ὑπατίῳ ἐνταῦθα ἦκων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης πλοῖον ἐν τῷ Ἐπιδάμνου λιμένι ὁρμίζεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν, αὐτὴν δὲ μέλλειν ἔτι, καίπερ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ, ἔπεμψε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐφ' ᾧ κατασκεψάμενος  
 15 ἅπαντα τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ἀγγεῖλει· τῷ δὲ λόγῳ πρεσβευτὴν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε, τοῖς τε ἀμφὶ τῷ Λιλυβαίῳ ξυνταραχθεῖς (ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται καὶ ὅτι Οὐννοι δέκα ἐκ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατοπέδου, δρασμοῦ<sup>2</sup> ἐχόμενοι, ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκοντο, Οὐλίاریς τε αὐτούς, ὃς Νεάπολιν ἐφύλασσαν, Ἀμαλασοῦνθης οὔτι ἀκουσίον ὑπεδέξατο, Γότθοι τε Γήπαισι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σίρμιον πολεμοῦν-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ V : ἀπὸ I.

<sup>2</sup> δρασμοῦ V : δρασμῷ L.

As for Theodatus, he met these envoys secretly and directed them to report to the Emperor Justinian what he had planned, explaining what has just been set forth by me.

But at this juncture Atalaric, having plunged into a drunken revel which passed all bounds, was seized with a wasting disease. Wherefore Amalasuntha was in great perplexity; for, on the one hand, she had no confidence in the loyalty of her son, now that he had gone so far in his depravity, and, on the other, she thought that if Atalaric also should be removed from among men, her life would not be safe thereafter, since she had given offence to the most notable of the Goths. For this reason she was desirous of handing over the power of the Goths and Italians to the Emperor Justinian, in order that she herself might be saved. And it happened that Alexander, a man of the senate, together with Demetrius and Hypatius, had come to Ravenna. For when the emperor had heard that Amalasuntha's boat was anchored in the harbour of Epidamnus, but that she herself was still tarrying, although much time had passed, he had sent Alexander to investigate and report to him the whole situation with regard to Amalasuntha; but it was given out that the emperor had sent Alexander as an envoy to her because he was greatly disturbed by the events at Lilybaeum which have been set forth by me in the preceding narrative,<sup>1</sup> and because ten Huns from the army in Libya had taken flight and reached Campania, and Uliaris, who was guarding Naples, had received them not at all against the will of Amalasuntha, and also because the Goths, in making war on the Gepaedes about

<sup>1</sup> Book IV. v. 11 ff.

τες, πόλει Γρατιανῇ, ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐσχατιᾷ  
 16 κειμένη, ὡς πολεμία ἐχρήσαντο. ἅπερ Ἀμαλα-  
 σούνθη ἐπικαλὼν γράμματά τε γράψας τὸν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμψεν.

“Ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς  
 αὐτοῦ εἶασε πράσσοντας ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθον, ἐς δὲ  
 Ῥάβενναν αὐτὸς κομισθεὶς καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθη ἐς  
 ὄψιν ἦκων, τοὺς τε βασιλέως λόγους ἀπήγγειλε  
 λάθρα καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἐνεχεί-  
 17 ρισεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· “Τὸ ἐν Λιλυ-  
 βαίῳ φρούριον, ἡμέτερον ὄν, βία λαβοῦσα ἔχεις,  
 καὶ βαρβάρους δραπέτας ἐμοὺς γεγεννημένους  
 δεξαμένη ἀποδοῦναι οὐπω καὶ νῦν ἔγνωκας,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ Γρατιανὴν τὴν ἐμὴν τὰ ἀνῆκεστα,  
 18 οὐδέν σοι προσήκον, εἰργάσω. ὅθεν ὥρα σοι  
 ἐκλογίζεσθαι<sup>1</sup> ποία ποτὲ τούτοις τελευτὴ γέ-  
 19 νοιτο.” ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενεχθέντα ἡ γυνὴ τὰ γράμ-  
 ματα ἀνελέξατο, ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· “Βασιλέα  
 μέγαν τε καὶ ἀρετῆς μεταποιούμενον, ὀρφανῷ  
 παιδί καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα τῶν πρassoμένων ἐπαισθα-  
 νομένῳ μᾶλλον ξυλλαβέσθαι εἰκὸς ἢ ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς  
 20 αἰτίας διάφορον εἶναι. ἀγὼν γάρ, ἣν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἀντιπάλου ξυσταίῃ, οὐδὲ τὴν νίκην εὐπρεπῇ  
 21 φέρει. σὺ δὲ τὸ Λιλύβαιον Ἀταλαρίχῳ ἐπανα-  
 σείεις καὶ φυγάδας δέκα καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ  
 πολεμίους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντων ἀμαρτάδα συμ-  
 22 πεσοῦσαν ἀγνοίᾳ τινὶ ἐς πόλιν φιλίαν. μὴ δῆτα,  
 μὴ σύ γε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐνθυμοῦ μὲν ὡς, ἡνίκα

<sup>1</sup> ὥρα σοι ἐκλογίζεσθαι V: ἄρα σοι ἐκλογίζεσθαι π, οσῇκει L.

Sirmium,<sup>1</sup> had treated the city of Gratiana, situated at the extremity of Illyricum, as a hostile town. So by way of protesting to Amalasuntha with regard to these things, he wrote a letter and sent Alexander.

And when Alexander arrived in Rome, he left there the priests busied with the matters for which they had come, and he himself, journeying on to Ravenna and coming before Amalasuntha, reported the emperor's message secretly, and openly delivered the letter to her. And the purport of the writing was as follows: "The fortress of Lilybaeum, which is ours, you have taken by force and are now holding, and barbarians, slaves of mine who have run away, you have received and have not even yet decided to restore them to me, and besides all this you have treated outrageously my city of Gratiana, though it belongs to you in no way whatever. Wherefore it is time for you to consider what the end of these things will some day be." And when this letter had been delivered to her and she had read it, she replied in the following words: "One may reasonably expect an emperor who is great and lays claim to virtue to assist an orphan child who does not in the least comprehend what is being done, rather than for no cause at all to quarrel with him. For unless a struggle be waged on even terms, even the victory it gains brings no honour. But thou dost threaten Atalaric on account of Lilybaeum, and ten runaways, and a mistake, made by soldiers in going against their enemies, which through some misapprehension chanced to affect a friendly city. Nay! do not thus; do not thou thus, O Emperor, but call to mind

<sup>1</sup> Near modern Mitrowitz.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ἐστράτευσες, οὐχ ὅσον σοι ἐμποδῶν  
 ἔστημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ  
 ἀγορὰν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ  
 ἔδομεν, ἄλλων τε καὶ ἵππων τοσούτων τὸ πλήθος,  
 ἀφ' ὧν σοι ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικράτησις μάλιστα  
 23 γέγονε. καίτοι ξύμμαχος ἂν καὶ φίλος δικαίως  
 καλοῖτο οὐχ ὅς ἂν τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν ἐς τοὺς πέλας  
 προΐσχοιτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς ἂν τῷ<sup>1</sup> ἐς πόλεμον  
 24 ἕκαστον ὅτου ἂν δέοιτο ὑπουργῶν φαίνοιτο. ἐκλο-  
 γίζου δὲ ὡς τηνικαῦτα ὁ στόλος ὁ σὸς οὔτε ἀλλαχῇ  
 ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους εἶχεν ὅτι μὴ Σικελία προσχεῖν  
 οὔτε τῶν ἐνθένδε ὠνηθέντων χωρὶς εἰς Λιβύην  
 25 ἰέναι. ὥστε σοι τὸ τῆς νίκης κεφάλαιον ἐξ ἡμῶν  
 ἐστίν· ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἀπόροις τὴν λύσιν διδούς καὶ  
 26 τὴν ἐντεῦθεν<sup>2</sup> ἀπόβασιν φέρεσθαι δίκαιος. τί δὲ  
 ἀνθρώπῳ ἡδίων<sup>3</sup> ἂν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, ὧ  
 βασιλεῦ, γένοιτο; καὶ μὴν ἐλασσοῦσθαι οὐκ ἐν  
 μετρίοις ἡμῖν ξυμβαίνει, οἷ γε οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ  
 πολέμου νόμον τὸ τῶν λαφύρων νεμόμεθα μέρος.  
 27 νῦν δὲ καὶ τὸ Σικελίας Λιλύβαιον, ἄνωθεν Γότ-  
 θοις προσήκον, ἀξιοῖς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, πέτραν,  
 ὧ βασιλεῦ, μίαν ὅσον οὐδὲ ἀργυρίου ἀξίαν, ἣν  
 ἀνθυπουργεῖν σε Ἀταλαρίχῳ εἰκός γε ἦν, ἐν τοῖς  
 ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ξυναραμένῳ, εἴπερ ἄνωθεν τῆς  
 28 σῆς βασιλείας οὔσα ἐτύγχανε." ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς Ἀμαλασοῦνθα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε.

<sup>1</sup> ἂν τῷ Haury : ἂν τὸ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐντεῦθεν V : ἐνθένδε L.

<sup>3</sup> ἡδίων L : ἴδιον V.



that when thou wast making war upon the Vandals, we not only refrained from hindering thee, but quite zealously even gave thee free passage against the enemy and provided a market in which to buy the indispensable supplies,<sup>1</sup> furnishing especially the multitude of horses to which thy final mastery over the enemy was chiefly due. And yet it is not merely the man who offers an alliance of arms to his neighbours that would in justice be called their ally and friend, but also the man who actually is found assisting another in war in regard to his every need. And consider that at that time thy fleet had no other place at which to put in from the sea except Sicily, and that without the supplies bought there it could not go on to Libya. Therefore thou art indebted to us for the chief cause of thy victory; for the one who provides a solution for a difficult situation is justly entitled also to the credit for the results which flow from his help. And what could be sweeter for a man, O Emperor, than gaining the mastery over his enemies? And yet in our case the outcome is that we suffer no slight disadvantage, in that we do not, in accordance with the custom of war, enjoy our share of the spoils. And now thou art also claiming the right to despoil us of Lilybacum in Sicily, which has belonged to the Goths from ancient times, a lone rock, O Emperor, worth not so much as a piece of silver, which, had it happened to belong to thy kingdom from ancient times, thou mightest in equity at least have granted to Atalaric as a reward for his services, since he lent thee assistance in the times of thy most pressing necessity." Such was the message which Anelasuntha wrote openly to the emperor; but

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book III. xiv. 5, 6.

29 λάθρα δὲ αὐτῷ ξύμπασαν Ἰταλίαν ἐγχειριεῖν  
 ὡμολόγησεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανή-  
 κοντες ἅπαντα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἡγγειλαν.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἅπερ τῇ Ἀμαλασούνθῃ δοκοῦντα  
 εἶη, Δημήτριος δὲ καὶ Ὑπάτιος ὅσα Θεωδῶτου  
 λέγοντος ἤκουσαν, καὶ ὡς δυνάμει μεγάλη ἐν  
 Τούσκοις ὁ Θεωδάτος χρώμενος, χώρας τε ἐνταῦθα  
 30 τῆς πολλῆς κύριος γεγονώς, πόνῳ ἂν οὐδενὶ τὰ  
 ὡμολογημένα ἐπιτελεῖν οἶός τε εἶη. οἷς δὲ περι-  
 χαρῆς γεγονώς βασιλεὺς Πέτρον, Ἰλλυριὸν γένος,  
 ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ὀρμώμενον, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 εὐθὺς ἔστελλεν, ἕνα μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ  
 ῥητόρων, ἄλλως δὲ ξυνετόν τε καὶ πρᾶον καὶ ἐς  
 τὸ πείθειν ἱκανῶς<sup>1</sup> πεφυκότα.

IV

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ Θεω-  
 δῶτον Τούσκοι πολλοὶ Ἀμαλασούνθῃ διέβαλον  
 βιάσασθαι ἅπαντας τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀφελέσθαι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τοὺς τε  
 ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστά γε τὴν βασίλειον  
 οἰκίαν αὐτήν, ἣν δὲ πατριμόνιον Ῥωμαῖοι καλεῖν  
 2 νενομίκασι. διὸ δὲ ἐς τὰς εὐθύνας καλέσασα<sup>2</sup>  
 Θεωδάτον ἢ γυνὴ διαρρήδην τε πρὸς τῶν δια-  
 βαλόντων ἐληλεγμένον ἀποτινύναι πάντα ἡνάγκ-  
 ασεν ἅπερ οὐ δέον ἀφείλετο, οὕτω τε αὐτὸν  
 3 ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς ἄγαν τῷ ἀν-  
 θρώπῳ προσκεκρουκυῖα διάφορος τὸ λοιπὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἱκανῶς H : ἱκανὸν VL.

<sup>2</sup> καλέσασα Hoerschel : καλέσας MSS.

secretly she agreed to put the whole of Italy into his hands. And the envoys, returning to Byzantium, reported everything to the Emperor Justinian, Alexander telling him the course which had been decided upon by Amalasuntha, and Demetrius and Hypatius all that they had heard Theodatus say, adding that Theodatus enjoyed great power in Tuscany, where he had become owner of the most of the land and consequently would be able with no trouble at all to carry his agreement into effect. And the emperor, overjoyed at this situation, immediately sent to Italy Peter, an Illyrian by birth, but a citizen of Thessalonica, a man who was one of the trained speakers in Byzantium, a discreet and gentle person withal and fitted by nature to persuade men.

## IV

BUT while these things were going on as I have explained, Theodatus was denounced before Amalasuntha by many Tuscans, who stated that he had done violence to all the people of Tuscany and had without cause seized their estates, taking not only all private estates but especially those belonging to the royal household, which the Romans are accustomed to call "patrimonium." For this reason the woman called Theodatus to an investigation, and when, being confronted by his denouncers, he had been proved guilty without any question, she compelled him to pay back everything which he had wrongfully seized and then dismissed him. And since in this way she had given the greatest offence to the man, from that time she was on hostile terms with him.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐγεγόνει ἀνιωμένω ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας ὡς μάλιστα, ὅτι διαμαρτάνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι ἀδύνατος ἦν.

- 4 Ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀταλάριχος μὲν τῇ νύσῳ καταμαρανθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὁκτῶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβιούς ἔτη. Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ (χρὴν γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ φύσιν τὴν Θεοδύτου ποιησαμένη καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐναγχος δράσειεν, οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι ἄχαρι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπέτόπησεν, ἣν τι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσεται
- 5 μείζον. μεταπεμψαμένη τοίνυν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ ἦκε, τιθασσεύουσα ἔφασκε χρόνου ἐξεπίστασθαι ὡς οἱ ὁ παῖς ἐπίδοξος εἴη ὅτι δὴ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσειε· τῶν τε γὰρ ἰατρῶν πάντων ταῦτά γινωσκόντων ἀκηκοέναι καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἀταλαρίχου
- 6 σώματος αἰὲ μαραινομένου ἠσθῆσθαι. ἐπεὶ τε ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ Θευδάτῳ<sup>1</sup> ἑώρα Ἰούθους τε καὶ Ἰταλιώτας δόξαν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν τινα ἔχοντας, ἐς οὐν περιεστήκει τὸ Θευδερίχου γένος, τούτου δὴ αὐτὸν διακαθᾶραι τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ὀνόματος ἐν σπουδῇ οἱ γενέσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τι αὐτῷ καλουμένῳ
- 7 ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμπόδιον εἴη. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτὴν ξυνταράξαι, εἴ γε περισταίῃ τοῖς ἡδικῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> ἤδη αἰτιωμένοις οὐκ ἔχειν μὲν ὅτῳ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα σφίσιν ἀγγείλωσι, δεσπό-
- 8 τὴν δὲ τὸν δυσμενῆ ἔχειν. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτόν, οὕτω καθαρὸν γεγεννημένοι, ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν παρακαλεῖν· δεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ὄρκοις δεινοτάτοις καταληφθῆναι ὡς ἐς Θευδάτον μὲν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ τε ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ [Θευδάτῳ] Christ: ἐπὶ τε ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ θευδάτῳ V, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ θευδάτῳ L.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ V: αὐτοῦ ὡς L, αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν, ὡς Maltretus.

exceedingly vexed as he was by reason of his fondness for money, because he was unable to continue his unlawful and violent practices.

At about this same time Atalaric, being quite wasted away by the disease, came to his end, having lived eight years in office. As for Amalasuntha, since it was fated that she should fare ill, she took no account of the nature of Theodatus and of what she had recently done to him, and supposed that she would suffer no unpleasant treatment at his hands if she should do the man some rather unusual favour. She accordingly summoned him, and when he came, set out to cajole him, saying that for some time she had known well that it was to be expected that her son would soon die; for she had heard the opinion of all the physicians, who agreed in their judgment, and had herself perceived that the body of Atalaric continued to waste away. And since she saw that both Goths and Italians had an unfavourable opinion regarding Theodatus, who had now come to represent the race of Theoderic, she had conceived the desire to clear him of this evil name, in order that it might not stand in his way if he were called to the throne. But at the same time, she explained, the question of justice disturbed her, at the thought that those who claimed to have been wronged by him already should find that they had no one to whom they might report what had befallen them, but that they now had their enemy as their master. For these reasons, then, although she invited him to the throne after his name should have been cleared in this way, yet it was necessary, she said, that he should be bound by the most solemn oaths that while the title of the office should

Oct. 10,  
534 A.D.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ὄνομα ἄγοιτο, αὐτὴ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ κράτος οὐκ  
 9 ἔλασσον ἢ πρότερον ἔχοι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Θευδάτος  
 ἤκουσεν, ἅπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένη Ἀμαλα-  
 σοῦνθη ὁμωμοκῶς, ἐπὶ λόγῳ τῷ πονηρῷ ὡμολό-  
 γησεν, ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχων ὅσα δὴ ἐκείνη πρότερον  
 10 ἐς αὐτὸν εἰργασμένη ἐτύγχανεν. οὕτω μὲν  
 Ἀμαλασοῦνθα πρὸς τε γνώμης τῆς οἰκείας καὶ  
 τῶν Θευδάτῳ ὁμωμοσμένων ἀπατηθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τῆς  
 11 ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο. πρέσβεις τε πέμ-  
 ψασα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἄνδρας Γότθους Ἰουστινιανῷ  
 βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ἐδήλου.  
 12 Θευδάτος δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν, πάντα  
 οἱ<sup>1</sup> πάναντία ὧν ἐκείνη τε ἠλπισε καὶ αὐτὸς  
 13 ὑπέσχετο ἔπρασσε. καὶ Γότθων τῶν πρὸς αὐτῆς  
 ἀνηρημένων τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς ἐπαγαγόμενος, πολ-  
 λούς τε καὶ λίαν λογίμους ἐν Γότθοις ὄντας, τῶν  
 τε Ἀμαλασοῦνθη προσηκόντων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου  
 τινὰς ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν, οὐπω  
 14 τῶν πρέσβεων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένων. ἔστι  
 δέ τις λίμνη ἐν Τούσκοις, Βουλσίνη καλουμένη,  
 ἣς δὴ ἐντὸς νῆσος ἀνέχει,<sup>2</sup> βραχεῖα μὲν κομιδῇ  
 15 οὔσα, φρούριον δὲ ἐχυρὸν ἔχουσα. ἐνταῦθα  
 Θευδάτος τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν καθείρξας ἐτήρει.  
 δείσας δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ βασιλεῖ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 προσκεκρουκῶς εἶη, ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων  
 βουλῆς Λιβέριόν τε καὶ Ὀπιλίωνα στείλας σὺν  
 ἐτέροις τισί, παραιτεῖσθαι πάσῃ δυνάμει βασιλείᾳ  
 ἐπηγγέλλειν, ἰσχυριζομένους μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ  
 ἄχαρι τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ συμβῆναι, καίπερ ἐς

<sup>1</sup> οἱ MSS.: Haury suggests τοι.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνέχει V: ἀεί ἐστι L.

be conferred upon Theodatus, she herself should in fact hold the power no less than before. When Theodatus heard this, although he swore to all the conditions which Amalasuntha wished, he entered into the agreement with treacherous intent, remembering all that she had previously done to him. Thus Amalasuntha, being deceived by her own judgment and the oaths of Theodatus, established him in the office. And sending some Goths as envoys to Byzantium, she made this known to the Emperor Justinian.

But Theodatus, upon receiving the supreme power, began to act in all things contrary to the hopes she had entertained and to the promises he had made. And after winning the adherence of the relatives of the Goths who had been slain by her—and they were both numerous and men of very high standing among the Goths—he suddenly put to death some of the connections of Amalasuntha and imprisoned her, the envoys not having as yet reached Byzantium. Now there is a certain lake in Tuscany called Vulcina,<sup>1</sup> within which rises an island,<sup>2</sup> exceedingly small but having a strong fortress upon it. There Theodatus confined Amalasuntha and kept her under guard. But fearing that by this act he had given offence to the emperor, as actually proved to be the case, he sent some men of the Roman senate, Liberius and Opilio and certain others, directing them to excuse his conduct to the emperor with all their power by assuring him that Amalasuntha had met with no harsh treatment at his hands, although

Apr. 30,  
535 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Bolsena.

<sup>2</sup> Marta; “now entirely uninhabited, but with a few steps out in the rock which are said to have led to the prison of Amalasuntha.”—HODGKIN.



# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- αὐτὸν ἀνῆκεστα δεινὰ εἰργασμένη τὰ πρότερα.  
 16 καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε καὶ  
 τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν οὐτι ἐκουσίαν ἠνάγκασε  
 γράψαι.  
 17 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. Πέτρος δὲ ἤδη  
 ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ<sup>1</sup> ἐστέλλετο προειρημένον αὐτῷ  
 πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως<sup>2</sup> ἐντυχεῖν μὲν κρύφα τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀπάντων Θευδάτῳ καὶ ὄρκῳ τὰ πιστὰ  
 παρεχομένῳ ὥς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν πρασσομένων ἐκ-  
 πυστον γένοιτο, οὕτω τε τὰ ἀμφὶ Τουσκίαν ἐν τῷ  
 18 ἀσφαλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν θέσθαι, καὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ  
 ξυγγενόμενον λάθρα ξυμπάσης<sup>3</sup> περὶ Ἰταλίας  
 19 διοικήσασθαι, ὅπῃ ἐκατέρῳ ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. ἐς  
 δὲ τὸ ἐμφανὲς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Λιλυβαίου καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὧν ἔναγχος ἐμνήσθην πρεσβεύσων ἦει.<sup>4</sup>  
 οὕτω γάρ τι περὶ τῆς Ἀταλαρίχου τελευτῆς ἢ  
 τῆς Θευδάτου ἀρχῆς ἢ τῶν Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ξυμ-  
 20 πεπτωκότων βασιλεὺς ἠκηκόει. Πέτρος δὲ ὁδῶ  
 πορευόμενος πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃς  
 πρέσβεσι ξυγγενόμενος τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ Θευδάτου  
 21 ἀρχῇ ἔμαθε· γενόμενος δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐν πόλει  
 Λύλωνι, ἢ πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ Ἰορίῳ κεῖται, ἐνταυθαί  
 τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Λιβέριόν τε καὶ Ὀπιλίωνα ἐντυχῶν  
 τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ξύμπαντα ἔγνω, ἐς τε βασιλεία  
 ταῦτα<sup>5</sup> ἀνερεγκῶν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.  
 22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἤκουσε,  
 Ἰότθους τε καὶ Θευδάτον ξυνταράξαι διαροῦ  
 μενος, πρὸς μὲν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν γράμματα

<sup>1</sup> πρεσβεία Haury : πρεσβείαν V, ἡδη . . . προειρημένοι om. L.

<sup>2</sup> βασιλέως V : βασιλέως ἐντέταλτο L.

<sup>3</sup> ξυμπάσης LH : ξυμβάσεις V.

<sup>4</sup> ἦει Hoeschel : εἴη MSS. <sup>5</sup> ταῦτα VH : πάντα L.

she had perpetrated irreparable outrages upon him before. And he himself wrote in this sense to the emperor, and also compelled Amalasuntha, much against her will, to write the same thing.

Such was the course of these events. But Peter had already been despatched by the emperor on an embassy to Italy with instructions to meet Theodatus without the knowledge of any others, and after Theodatus had given pledges by an oath that none of their dealings should be divulged, he was then to make a secure settlement with him regarding Tuscany; and meeting Amalasuntha stealthily he was to make such an arrangement with her regarding the whole of Italy as would be to the profit of either party. But openly his mission was to negotiate with regard to Lilybaeum and the other matters which I have lately mentioned. For as yet the emperor had heard nothing about the death of Atalaric or the succession of Theodatus to the throne, or the fate which had befallen Amalasuntha. And Peter was already on his way when he met the envoys of Amalasuntha and learned, in the first place, that Theodatus had come to the throne; and a little later, upon reaching the city of Aulon,<sup>1</sup> which lies on the Ionian Gulf, he met there the company of Liberius and Opilio, and learned everything which had taken place, and reporting this to the emperor he remained there.

And when the Emperor Justinian heard these things, he formed the purpose of throwing the Goths and Theodatus into confusion; accordingly he wrote

<sup>1</sup> Modern Avlona in Albania.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἔγραφε,<sup>1</sup> δηλοῦντα ὅτι αὐτῆς ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα  
 μεταποιεῖσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοι· τῷ δὲ Πέτρῳ  
 ἐπέστελλε ταῦτα μηδαμῇ ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτῷ τε Θευδάτῳ φανερὰ καὶ Γότθοις ἅπασι  
 23 καταστήσασθαι. πρέσβων δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας  
 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκομίσθησαν,  
 τὸν πάντα λόγον βασιλεῖ ἡγγεῖλαι, καὶ πάντων  
 24 μάλιστα Λιβέριος· ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ καλός τε καὶ  
 ἀγαθὸς διαφερόντως, λόγου τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐπι-  
 25 μελεῖσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενος· Ὀπιλίων δὲ μόνος  
 ἐνδελεχέστατα ἰσχυρίζετο μηδὲν ἐς Ἀμαλασοῦν-  
 θαν ἁμαρτεῖν Θευδάτον. Πέτρου δὲ ἀφικομένου  
 ἐς Ἰταλίαν Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυνέβη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
 26 ἀφανισθῆναι. Γότθων γὰρ συγγειεῖς τῶν ὑπ'  
 ἐκείνης ἀνηρημέων Θευδάτῳ προσελθόντες οὔτε  
 αὐτῷ οὔτε σφίσι τὸν βίον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἰσχυρί-  
 ζοντο εἶναι, ἦν γε μὴ αὐτοῖς Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ὅτι  
 27 τάχιστα ἐκποδὼν γένηται. ξυγχωροῦντός τε  
 αὐτοῖς, ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενόμενοι τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν  
 28 εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ὅπερ Ἰταλιώτας τε ὑπερφυνῶς  
 29 ἅπαντας καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἄλλους ἠνίασεν. ἀρε-  
 τῆς γὰρ πάσης ἡ γυνὴ ἰσχυρότατα ἐπεμελεῖτο,  
 30 ὅπερ<sup>2</sup> μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. Πέτρος  
 μὲν οὖν Θευδάτῳ ἄντικρυς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ Γότ-  
 θοις τοῖς ἄλλοις<sup>3</sup> ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεινοῦ τούτου  
 ἐξειργασμένον ἄσπονδος βασιλεῖ τε καὶ σφίσιν ὁ  
 31 πόλεμος ἔσται. Θευδάτος δὲ ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας  
 τοὺς Ἀμαλασοῦνθης φορεῖς ἐν τιμῇ τε καὶ  
 σπουδῇ<sup>4</sup> ἔχων, Πέτρον τε καὶ βασιλέα πείθειν

<sup>1</sup> ἔγραφε VL: ἔπεμψε H.

<sup>2</sup> ὅπερ V: ὥσπερ L.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς ἄλλοις: καὶ γότθους τοὺς ἄλλους V, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις γότθοις L.

<sup>4</sup> τε καὶ σπουδῇ V: τε πολλῇ L.

a letter to Amalasuntha, stating that he was eager to give her every possible support, and at the same time he directed Peter by no means to conceal this message, but to make it known to Theodatus himself and to all the Goths. And when the envoys from Italy arrived in Byzantium, they all, with a single exception, reported the whole matter to the emperor, and especially Liberius: for he was a man unusually upright and honourable, and one who knew well how to shew regard for the truth; but Opilio alone declared with the greatest persistence that Theodatus had committed no offence against Amalasuntha. Now when Peter arrived in Italy, it so happened that Amalasuntha had been removed from among men. For the relatives of the Goths who had been slain by her came before Theodatus declaring that neither his life nor theirs was secure unless Amalasuntha should be put out of their way as quickly as possible. And as soon as he gave in to them, they went to the island and killed Amalasuntha,—an act which grieved exceedingly all the Italians and the Goths as well. For the woman had the strictest regard for every kind of virtue, as has been stated by me a little earlier.<sup>1</sup> Now Peter protested openly<sup>2</sup> to Theodatus and the other Goths that because this base deed had been committed by them, there would be war without truce between the emperor and themselves. But Theodatus, such was his stupid folly, while still holding the slayers of Amalasuntha in honour and favour kept trying to persuade Peter and the

<sup>1</sup> Chap. ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Gibbon's note (chap. xli.), amplified in Bury's edition, Vol. IV. p. 304, for additional light on the part played by Justinian and Peter in this affair.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἤθελεν ὥς αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινοῦντος, ἀλλ' ὥς μάλιστα ἀκουσίον, Γότθοις ἐργασθείη τὸ μίasma τοῦτο.

### V

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριον ἠὲδοκιμηκέναι κατὰ Γελίμερός τε καὶ Βανδίων τετύχηκε. βασιλεὺς δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Ἀμαλασούνθῃ ξυνενεχθέντα μαθὼν εὐθὺς καθίστατο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἔτατον ἔτος τὴν  
 2 βασιλείαν ἔχων. καὶ Μοῦνδον<sup>1</sup> μὲν τὸν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸν ἐς τε Δαλματίαν ἰέναι, τὴν Γότθων κατήκοον, καὶ Σαλῶνων ἀποπειράσασθαι ἐκέλευεν (ἦν δὲ ὁ Μοῦνδος γένος μὲν βάρβαρος, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῖς τε<sup>2</sup> βασιλέως πράγμασιν εὖνους καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια), Βελισάριον δὲ ναυσὶν ἔστελλε, στρατιώτας ἐκ μὲν καταλόγων καὶ φοιδεράτων τετρακισχιλίους, ἐκ δὲ Ἰσαύρων  
 3 τρισχιλίους μάλιστα ἔχοντα. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν λόγιμοι μὲν Κωνσταντῖνός τε καὶ Βέσσας, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, Περάνιος δὲ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἄγχιστα Μήδων, γενόμενος μὲν τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως Ἰβήρων, αὐτόμολος δὲ πρότερον ἐς Ῥωμαίους κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν ἦκων, καταλόγων δὲ ἱππικῶν μὲν Βαλεντῖνός τε καὶ Μάγνος καὶ Ἰννοκέντιος, πεζῶν δὲ Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Οὐρσικῆτος, ἀρχηγὸς δὲ  
 4 Ἰσαύρων Ἰννης. εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Οὐννοὶ ξύμ-

<sup>1</sup> Μοῦνδον V: μοῦνδον αὐτὸν L.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ τοῖς τε Krašeninnikov: τε τοῖς τοῦ MSS.

emperor that this unholy deed had been committed by the Goths by no means with his approval, but decidedly against his will.

## V

MEANWHILE it happened that Belisarius had distinguished himself by the defeat of Gelimer and the Vandals. And the emperor, upon learning what had befallen Amalasuntha, immediately entered upon the war, being in the ninth year of his reign. And he first commanded Mundus, the general of Illyricum, to go to Dalmatia, which was subject to the Goths, and make trial of Salones.<sup>1</sup> Now Mundus was by birth a barbarian, but exceedingly loyal to the cause of the emperor and an able warrior. Then he sent Belisarius by sea with four thousand soldiers from the regular troops and the *foederati*.<sup>2</sup> and about three thousand of the Isaurians. And the commanders were men of note: Constantinus and Bessas from the land of Thrace, and Peranius from Iberia<sup>3</sup> which is hard by Media, a man who was by birth a member of the royal family of the Iberians, but had before this time come as a deserter to the Romans through enmity toward the Persians; and the levies of cavalry were commanded by Valentinus, Magnus, and Innocentius, and the infantry by Herodian, Paulus, Demetrius, and Ursicinus, while the leader of the Isaurians was Ennes. And there were also two hundred Huns as

<sup>1</sup> Or Salona, near modern Spalato.

<sup>2</sup> Auxiliaries; see Book III. xi. 3, 4, and note.

<sup>3</sup> Corresponding roughly to modern Georgia, just south of the Caucasus.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- μαχοι διακόσιοι καὶ Μαυρούσιοι τριακόσιοι. στρατηγὸς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ' ἅπασιν Βελισάριος ἦν, δορυφόρους τε καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς πολλοὺς τε
- 5 καὶ δοκίμους ἔχων. εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φώτιος, ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίνης υἱὸς ἐκ γάμων προτέρων, νέος μὲν ὢν ἔτι καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνότης, ξυνετώτατος δὲ καὶ φύσεως ἰσχύϊν ὑπὲρ τὴν
- 6 ἡλικίαν δηλώσας. βασιλεὺς τε Βελισαρίῳ ἐπέστελλεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ στέλλεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφίκωνται, ὥς δὴ κατὰ
- 7 χρεῖαν τινὰ ἐνταῦθα ἀποβάντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς νήσου. καὶ ἦν μὲν δυνατὰ ἢ ὑποχειρίαν αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ποιήσασθαι, κατέχειν τε καὶ αὐτῆς μηκέτι μεθίεσθαι· ἦν δέ τι ἐμπόδιον ὑπαιτιάζη, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Λιβύης, οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν τῆς βουλήσεως παρεχομένους.
- 8 Πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Φράγγων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔγραψε τάδε· “ Ἰότθοι Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν βία ἐλόντες οὐχ ὅσον αὐτὴν ἀποδιδόαι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηδικήκασιν ἡμᾶς οὔτε
- 9 φορητὰ οὔτε μέτρια. διόπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἠναγκάσμεθα, ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς ξυνδιαφέρειν ἡμῖν πόλεμοι τόνδε, ὃν ἡμῖν κοινὸν εἶναι ποιεῖ δόξα τε ὀρθή, ἀποσειομένη τὴν Ἀρειανῶν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ εἰς Ἰότθους ἀμφοτέρων ἔχθος.”
- 10 τοσαῦτα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε· καὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος,<sup>1</sup> πλείονα δώσειν, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ὡμολόγησεν. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ξυμμαχήσιν ὑπέσχεοντο.

<sup>1</sup> δωρησάμενος V: φιλοτιμησάμενος L.



allies and three hundred Moors. But the general in supreme command over all was Belisarius, and he had with him many notable men as spearmen and guards. And he was accompanied also by Photius, the son of his wife Antonina by a previous marriage ; he was still a young man wearing his first beard, but possessed the greatest discretion and shewed a strength of character beyond his years. And the emperor instructed Belisarius to give out that his destination was Carthage, but as soon as they should arrive at Sicily, they were to disembark there as if obliged for some reason to do so, and make trial of the island. And if it should be possible to reduce it to subjection without any trouble, they were to take possession and not let it go again ; but if they should meet with any obstacle, they were to sail with all speed to Libya, giving no one an opportunity to perceive what their intention was.

And he also sent a letter to the leaders of the Franks as follows : “ The Goths, having seized by violence Italy, which was ours, have not only refused absolutely to give it back, but have committed further acts of injustice against us which are unendurable and pass beyond all bounds. For this reason we have been compelled to take the field against them, and it is proper that you should join with us in waging this war, which is rendered yours as well as ours not only by the orthodox faith, which rejects the opinion of the Arians, but also by the enmity we both feel toward the Goths.” Such was the emperor’s letter ; and making a gift of money to them, he agreed to give more as soon as they should take an active part. And they with all zeal promised to fight in alliance with him.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 11 Μοῦνδος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰ ἐς  
 Δαλματίαν ἀφικόμενοι καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς ἐκείνῃ  
 12 τῇ ξυμβολῇ, Σάλωνας ἔσχον. Βελισάριος δὲ  
 καταπλεύσας ἐς Σικελίαν Κατάνην ἔλαβεν. ἔνθεν  
 τε ὁρμώμενος Συρακούσας τε ὁμολογία καὶ πόλεις  
 τὰς ἄλλας παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ· πλὴν γε  
 δὴ ὅτι Γότθοι οἱ ἐν Πανόρμῳ φυλακὴν εἶχον,  
 θαρσοῦντες τῷ περιβόλῳ (ἦν γὰρ ἐχυρὸν τὸ  
 χωρίον) προσχωρεῖν τε Βελισαρίῳ ἥκιστα ἠθέλον  
 καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἀπάγειν τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ  
 13 τάχος ἐκέλευον. Βελισάριος δὲ λογισάμενος  
 ἀμήχανον εἶναι διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν  
 ἐσπλεῖν τὸν στόλον<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐκέλευεν ἄχρι  
 14 ἐς τὸ τεῖχος διήκοντα. ἦν γὰρ τοῦ τε περιβόλου  
 ἐκτὸς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημος. οὐ δὴ  
 τῶν νηῶν ὀρμισαμένων τοὺς ἰστούς ξυνέβαινε  
 15 τῶν ἐπάλξεων καθυπερτέρους εἶναι. αὐτίκα οὖν  
 τοὺς λέμβους τῶν νηῶν ἅπαντας τοξοτῶν ἐμπλη-  
 16 σάμενος ἀπεκρέμασεν ἄκρων ἰστών.<sup>2</sup> ὅθεν δὴ  
 κατὰ κορυφὴν βαλλόμενοι οἱ πολέμοι ἐς δέος τι  
 ἄμαχον<sup>3</sup> ἦλθον καὶ Πάνορμον εὐθὺς ὁμολογία  
 17 Βελισαρίῳ παρέδωσαν. βασιλεὺς τε ἐκ τοῦδε  
 Σικελίαν ὅλην ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν κατήκοον εἶχε.  
 τῷ δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τότε κρεῖσσον λόγου εὐτύχημα  
 18 ξυνηρέχθη γενέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ ὑπατείας λαβὼν  
 τὸ ἀξίωμα ἐπὶ τῷ Βανδίλῳ νενικηκέναι, ταύτης  
 ἔτι ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ παρεστήσατο Σικελίαν ὅλην,  
 τῇ τῆς ὑπατείας ὑστάτῃ<sup>4</sup> ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὰς Συρακού-

<sup>1</sup> τὸν στόλον L: τῷ στόλῳ V.

<sup>2</sup> ἄκρων ἰστών: ἄκρον ἰστόν V, ἄκρων οἰστών L.

<sup>3</sup> ἄμαχον V: ἀμήχανον L. <sup>4</sup> ὑστάτῃ V: ἐσχάτῃ L.

Now Mundus and the army under his command entered Dalmatia, and engaging with the Goths who encountered them there, defeated them in the battle and took possession of Salones. As for Belisarius, he put in at Sicily and took Catana. And making that place his base of operations, he took over Syracuse and the other cities by surrender without any trouble; except, indeed, that the Goths who were keeping guard in Panormus,<sup>1</sup> having confidence in the fortifications of the place, which was a strong one, were quite unwilling to yield to Belisarius and ordered him to lead his army away from there with all speed. But Belisarius, considering that it was impossible to capture the place from the landward side, ordered the fleet to sail into the harbour, which extended right up to the wall. For it was outside the circuit-wall and entirely without defenders. Now when the ships had anchored there, it was seen that the masts were higher than the parapet. Straightway, therefore, he filled all the small boats of the ships with bowmen and hoisted them to the tops of the masts. And when from these boats the enemy were shot at from above, they fell into such an irresistible fear that they immediately delivered Panormus to Belisarius by surrender. As a result of this the emperor held all Sicily subject and tributary to himself. And at that time it so happened that there fell to Belisarius a piece of good fortune beyond the power of words to describe. For, having received the dignity of the consulship because of his victory over the Vandals, while he was still holding this honour, and after he had won the whole of Sicily, on the last day of

Dec. 31,  
535 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Palermo.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σας εἰσήλασε, πρὸς τε τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ  
 Σικελιωτῶν κροτούμενος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ  
 1) νόμισμα χρυσοῦ ρίπτων ἅπασιν. οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες  
 μέντοι αὐτῷ πεποιήται τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τις τῷ ἀν-  
 θρώπῳ ξυνέβη τύχη πᾶσαν ἀνασωσαμένῳ τὴν  
 νῆσον Ῥωμαίοις ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὰς Συρα-  
 κούσας ἐσεληλακέιναι, τὴν τε τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχήν,  
 οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίου βουλευτηρίῳ,  
 ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα καταθεμένῳ ἐξ ὑπάτων γενέσθαι.  
 Βελισαρίῳ μὲν οὖν οὕτω δὴ εὐημερήσαι ξυνέτυχεν.

## VI

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Πέτρος ἔμαθεν, ἐγκείμενος  
 πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ δεδισσόμενος Θεωδάτῳ  
 2 οὐκέτι ἀνίει. καὶ ὃς ἀποδειλιάσας τε καὶ ἐς  
 ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκώς, οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ εἰ δορυά-  
 λωτος ξὺν τῷ<sup>1</sup> Γελίμερι<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸς ἐγεγόνει, ἐς  
 λόγους τῷ Πέτρῳ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων  
 ἦλθεν, ἐς τε ξύμβασιν ἐν σφίσιν ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
 Θεωδάτος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ Σικελίας ἐκστή-  
 σεται πάσης, πέμψει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ στέφανον  
 χρυσοῦν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ τριακοσίας ἑλκοντα  
 λίτρας, Γούθους τε ἄνδρας μαχίμους ἐς τρισ-  
 χιλίους, ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. Θεωδάτῳ  
 δὲ αὐτῷ<sup>3</sup> ἐξουσίαν οὐδαμῇ ἔσεσθαι τῶν τινα  
 ἱερέων ἢ βουλευτῶν ἀποκτινύναι, ἢ ἀνάγρα-  
 πτον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν ὅτι  
 3 μὴ βασιλέως ποιεῖσθαι γνώμῃ ἦν ἐέ γε τῶν

<sup>1</sup> τῷ VW: αὐτῷ L.      <sup>2</sup> γελίμερι VW: γελίμερι καὶ L.

<sup>3</sup> βουλομένῳ . . . αὐτῷ KL: δέη καὶ W.

his consulship, he marched into Syracuse, loudly applauded by the army and by the Sicilians and throwing golden coins to all. This coincidence, however, was not intentionally arranged by him, but it was a happy chance which befell the man, that after having recovered the whole of the island for the Romans he marched into Syracuse on that particular day: and so it was not in the senate house in Byzantium, as was customary, but there that he laid down the office of the consuls and so became an ex-consul. Thus, then, did good fortune attend Belisarius.

## VI

AND when Peter learned of the conquest of Sicily, he was still more insistent in his efforts to frighten Theodatus and would not let him go. But he, turning coward and reduced to speechlessness no less than if he himself had become a captive with Gelimer,<sup>1</sup> entered into negotiations with Peter without the knowledge of any others, and between them they formed an agreement, providing that Theodatus should retire from all Sicily in favour of the Emperor Justinian, and should send him also a golden crown every year weighing three hundred litrae,<sup>2</sup> and Gothic warriors to the number of three thousand whenever he should wish; and that Theodatus himself should have no authority to kill any priest or senator, or to confiscate his property for the public treasury except by the decision of the emperor; and

<sup>1</sup> The captivity of Gelimer is described in Book IV. vii. 12-17; ix. 11-14.

<sup>2</sup> At present values "worth about £12,000."—HODGKIN.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ὑπηκόων τινὰς ἐς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἢ ἄλλο  
 βουλῆς ἀξίωμα Θευδάτος ἀγαγεῖν βούληται,  
 τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸν δώσειν, ἀλλὰ βασιλέα αἰτή-  
 4 σειν διδόναι· εὐφημοῦντα δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὸν δῆμον  
 ἀναβοήσειν αἰὲ βασιλέα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα Θευδά-  
 5 τον, ἔν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἵπποδρομίαις καὶ εἴ που  
 ἄλλη τὸ<sup>1</sup> τοιοῦτον δεήσει γενέσθαι. εἰκόνα τε  
 χαλκῇν ἢ ὕλης ἐτέρας μή ποτε Θευδάτῳ μόνῳ  
 καθίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθαι μὲν αἰὲ ἀμφοτέροις,  
 στήσεσθαι δὲ οὕτως· ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὴν βασιλέως,  
 ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τὴν Θευδάτου. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ  
 ξυμβάσει γράψας τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ὁ Θευδάτος  
 ἀπεπέμψατο.  
 6 Ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον ψυχῆς ὀρρωδία περιλα-  
 βούσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐς δειμάτά τε ἀπῆγεν ὄρον  
 οὐκ ἔχοντα καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διαίνοιαν,  
 δεδισσομένη τῷ τοῦ πολέμου ὀνόματι, καὶ ὥς, εἴ  
 γε βασιλέα οὐδαμῇ ἀρέσκει τά τε αὐτῷ καὶ  
 Πέτρῳ συγκείμενα, ὁ πόλεμος εὐθὺς ἀπαντήσῃ.  
 7 αὐτῷ οὖν Πέτρον μεταπεμψάμενος ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς  
 ἤδη γενόμενον ἅτε κοινολογούμενος λάθρα τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυνθάνετο, εἰ τὴν ξύμβασιν βα-  
 8 σιλεῖ πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἔσεσθαι οἶεται. καὶ ὡς οὕτω<sup>2</sup>  
 δὴ ὑποτοπάζειν ἔφη. “Ἦν δέ γε ταῦτα μηδαμῇ  
 ἀρέσκει τὸν ἄνδρα, τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γενήσεται;”  
 9 εἶπεν. ἀπεκρίνατο Πέτρος “Πολεμητέα σοι τὸ  
 λοιπόν, ὦ γενναῖε.” “Τί δέ; δίκαια ταῦτα, ὦ  
 φίλτατε πρεσβευτά;” ἔφη. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἔφη<sup>3</sup>  
 ὑπολαβών “Καὶ πῶς οὐ δίκαιον, ὦ ἀγαθέ,” εἶπε.

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλη τὸ LW: ἄλλο τι K.

<sup>2</sup> οὕτω KL: αὐτῷ W.

<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἔφη K: om. L, ὁ δὲ \* W.



that if Theodatus wished to advance any of his subjects to the patrician or some other senatorial rank this honour should not be bestowed by him, but he should ask the emperor to bestow it : and that the Roman populace, in acclaiming their sovereign, should always shout the name of the emperor first, and afterward that of Theodatus, both in the theatres and in the hippodromes and wherever else it should be necessary for such a thing to be done ; furthermore, that no statue of bronze nor of any other material should ever be set up to Theodatus alone, but statues must always be made for both, and they must stand thus : on the right that of the emperor, and on the other side that of Theodatus. And after Theodatus had written in confirmation of this agreement he dismissed the ambassador.

But, a little later, terror laid hold upon the man's soul and brought him into fears which knew no bound and tortured his mind, filling him with dread at the name of war, and reminding him that if the agreement drawn up by Peter and himself did not please the emperor at all, war would straightway come upon him. Once more, therefore, he summoned Peter, who had already reached Albani,<sup>1</sup> for a secret conference, and enquired of the man whether he thought that the agreement would be pleasing to the emperor. And he replied that he supposed it would. " But if," said Theodatus, " these things do not please the man at all, what will happen then ? " And Peter replied " After that you will have to wage war, most noble Sir." " But what is this," he said ; " is it just, my dear ambassador ? " And Peter, immediately taking him up, said " And how is it not just, my good Sir, that

<sup>1</sup> Modern Albano ; on the Appian Way. Cf. Book VI. iv. 8.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- “τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκάστου<sup>1</sup> φυλάσσεσθαι;” “Γί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν;” ὁ Θεωδάτος  
 10 ἡρώτα. “Ὅτι σοὶ μὲν σπουδὴ πολλὴ φιλοσοφεῖν,” ἔφη, “Ἰουστινιανῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων γενναίῳ εἶναι. διαφέρει<sup>2</sup> δέ, ὅτι τῷ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκήσαντι θάνατον ἀνθρώποις πορίζεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοσούτοις τὸ πλῆθος, οὐ μῆποτε εὐπρεπὲς εἶη, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς, ἧς δηλονότι μετασχόντι σοι μὴ οὐχὶ φόνου παντὸς” ἐλευθέρῳ εἶναι οὐχ ὅτιον· ἐκείνῳ δὲ χώρας μεταποιήσασθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ἄνωθεν  
 11 τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀρχῇ.” ταύτῃ ὁ Θεωδάτος τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὡμολόγησεν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐκστήσεσθαι.  
 12 καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ὥμοσε· τὸν τε Πέτρον ὅρκοις κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐ πρότερον ἔκπυστα ταῦτα ποιήσεται, πρὶν ἂν βασιλέα οὐκ  
 13 ἐνδεχόμενον τὴν προτέραν ξύμβασιν ἴδοι. καὶ Ῥουστικὸν τῶν τινα ἱερέων καὶ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειον,<sup>3</sup> ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπεμψεν. οἷς δὴ καὶ γράμματα ἐνεχείρισε.  
 14 Πέτρος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ῥουστικὸς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γενόμενοι τὰ πρότερον δόξαντα βασιλεῖ ἡγγεῖλαι, καθάπερ Θεωδάτος σφίσιν ἐπέστελλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἤκιστα ἠθελε,  
 15 τὰ ἐν ὑστέρῳ γεγραμμένα ἐπέδειξαν. εἰδήλου δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτηδεύματα τῇ ψυχῇ (ἐκάστου Haurv, ἐκάστη KW: ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐκάστου ψυχῇ L.

<sup>2</sup> διαφέρει Hoeschel: διαφέρειν MSS.

<sup>3</sup> παντὸς KW: παντελῶς L.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιτήδειον K: ἐπιτηδείων L, ἐπιτηδεῖω W.

the pursuits appropriate to each man's nature should be preserved?" "What, pray, may this mean?" asked Theodatus. "It means," was the reply, "that your great interest is to philosophize, while Justinian's is to be a worthy emperor of the Romans. And there is this difference, that for one who has practised philosophy it would never be seemly to bring about the death of men, especially in such great numbers, and it should be added that this view accords with the teachings of Plato, which you have evidently espoused, and hence it is unholy for you not to be free from all bloodshed; but for him it is not at all inappropriate to seek to acquire a land which has belonged from of old to the realm which is his own." Thereupon Theodatus, being convinced by this advice, agreed to retire from the kingship in favour of the Emperor Justinian, and both he and his wife took an oath to this effect. He then bound Peter by oaths that he would not divulge this agreement until he should see that the emperor would not accept the former convention. And he sent with him Rusticus, a priest who was especially devoted to him and a Roman citizen, to negotiate on the basis of this agreement. And he also entrusted a letter to these men.

So Peter and Rusticus, upon reaching Byzantium, reported the first decision to the emperor, just as Theodatus had directed them to do. But when the emperor was quite unwilling to accept the proposal, they revealed the plan which had been committed to writing afterwards. This was to the following effect :

- ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· “ Οὐ γέγονα μὲν βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐπηλύτης, τετύχηκε γάρ μοι τετέχθαι τε ἐν βασιλέως θείου<sup>1</sup> καὶ τεθράφθαι τοῦ γένους ἀξίως. πολέμων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις θορύβων εἰμὶ  
 16 οὐ παντελῶς ἔμπειρος. περὶ λόγων γὰρ ἀκοὴν ἄνωθεν ἐρωτικῶς ἐσχηκότι μοι καὶ διατριβὴν ἐς τοῦτο ἀεὶ πεποιημένῳ ξυμβαίνει τῆς ἐν ταῖς  
 17 μάχαις ταραχῆς ἐκαστάτω ἐς τόδε εἶναι. ὥστε ἡκιστά με εἰκὸς τὰς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ζηλοῦντα τιμὰς τὸν μετὰ κινδύνων διώκειν βίον, ἐξὸν ἀμφοῖν ἐκποδὼν ἴστασθαι. τούτοις γὰρ μοι οὐδέτερον ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι· τὸ μὲν, ὅτι κόρῳ τετίμηται, πλησμονὴ γὰρ ἡδέων ἀπάντων, τὸ δέ, ὅτι τὸ μὴ  
 19 ἐθίσθῃναι ἐς ταραχὴν φέρει. ἐγὼ δέ, εἴ μοι χωρία γένηται οὐχ ἡσσαν ἢ δώδεκα κεντηναρίων ἐπέτειον φέροντα πρόσοδον, περὶ ἐλάσσονος ἂν αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ποιήσαιμι, καὶ σοι τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ  
 20 Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐγχειριῶ κράτος. ὥς ἔγωγε ἡδίων ἂν ξὺν τῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ γεωργὸς εἶην ἢ ἐν μερίμναις βασιλικαῖς βιόην, κινδύνους·  
 21 ἐκ κινδύνων παραπεμπούσαις. ἀλλὰ πέμπε ἄνδρα ὥς τάχιστα, ὅτῳ με Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα παραδοῦναι προσήκει.”  
 22 Θευδάτου μὲν ἡ γραφὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. βασιλεὺς δὲ ὑπεράγαν ἡσθεὶς ἀμείβεται ὧδε· “ Πάσαι μὲν σε ξυνετὸν εἶναι ἀκοῇ εἶχον, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ μεμαθηκὼς οἶδα οἷς οὐκ ἔγνωκας τὸ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν βασιλέως θείου K corr. L: ἐκ βασιλέως θείου K pr. m., ἐν βασιλείοις θείου Grotius.

<sup>2</sup> κινδύνους Haury: κινδύνοις MSS.

"I am no stranger to royal courts, but it was my fortune to have been born in the house of my uncle while he was king and to have been reared in a manner worthy of my race ; and yet I have had little experience of wars and of the turmoils which wars entail. For since from my earliest years I have been passionately addicted to scholarly disputations and have always devoted my time to this sort of thing, I have consequently been up to the present time very far removed from the confusion of battles. Therefore it is utterly absurd that I should aspire to the honours which royalty confers and thus lead a life fraught with danger, when it is possible for me to avoid them both. For neither one of these is a pleasure to me ; the first, because it is liable to satiety, for it is a surfeit of all sweet things, and the second, because lack of familiarity with such a life throws one into confusion. But as for me, if estates should be provided me which yielded an annual income of no less than twelve centenaria,<sup>1</sup> I should regard the kingdom as of less account than them, and I shall hand over to thee forthwith the power of the Goths and Italians. For I should find more pleasure in being a farmer free from all cares than in passing my life amid a king's anxieties, attended as they are by danger after danger. Pray send a man as quickly as possible into whose hands I may fittingly deliver Italy and the affairs of the kingdom."

Such was the purport of the letter of Theodatus. And the emperor, being exceedingly pleased, replied as follows : " From of old have I heard by report that you were a man of discretion, but now, taught by experience, I know it by the decision you have reached

<sup>1</sup> See Book I. xxii. 4 ; III. vi. 2, note.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 23 πολέμου καταδοκεῖν πέρας. ὅπερ ἤδη πεποιθότες  
τινὲς ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐσφάλησαν. καὶ σοι οὐ  
ποτε μεταμελήσει φίλους ἡμᾶς ἀντὶ πολεμίων  
24 ποιησαμένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ αἰτεῖς παρ'  
ἡμῶν ἔξεις, καὶ προσέσται σοι ἐν ταῖς πρώταις  
25 Ῥωμαίων τιμαῖς ἀναγράφτῳ εἶναι. νῦν μὲν οὖν  
Ἀθανάσιόν τε καὶ Πέτρον ἀπέσταλκα, ὅπως ὁμο-  
λογία τινὶ ἐκατέρῳ τὸ βέβαιον ἔσται. ἤξει δὲ  
ὅσον οὐπω καὶ Βελισάριος παρὰ σέ, πέρας ἅπασιν  
26 ἐπιθήσων ὅσα αὖ ἐν ἡμῖν ξυγκείμενα ἦ." ταῦτα  
βασιλεὺς γράψας Ἀθανάσιόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
ἀδελφόν, ὃς πρώην ἐς Ἀταλάριχον, ὥσπερ ἐρ-  
ρήθη, ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ Πέτρον αὖθις τὸν ῥήτορα  
ἐπεμψεν, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ  
μὲν χωρία τῆς βασιλέως οἰκίας, ἣν πατριμῶνιον  
καλοῦσι, Θεωδᾶτῳ νεῖμαι, γράμματα δὲ καὶ ὄρ-  
κους ὀχύρωμα ταῖς ξυνηθείαις ποιησαμένους οὕτω  
δὴ ἐκ Σικελίας Βελισάριον μεταπέμψασθαι, ἐφ'  
ὧ τά τε βασίλεια καὶ Ἰταλίαν παραλαβὼν ξύμ-  
27 πασαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοι.<sup>1</sup> καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐπέστει-  
λεν ὥστε αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴν μεταπέμψωνται, κατὰ  
τάχος ἥκειν.

## VII

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτά τε βασιλεῖς ἔπρασσε καὶ οἱ  
πρέσβεις οὗτοι ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστέλλοντο, ἐν τούτῳ  
Γότθοι, ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἀσιναρίου καὶ Γρίπα  
σφίσιν ἡγουμένων, στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Δαλμα-  
2 τίαν ἦκου. ἐπειδὴ τε Σαλῶνων ἄγχιστα ἵκοντο.

<sup>1</sup> ἔχοι suggested by Haury: ἔχει MSS.

not to await the issue of the war. For certain men who in the past have followed such a course have been completely undone. And you will never repent having made us friends instead of enemies. But you will not only have this that you ask at our hands, but you will also have the distinction of being enrolled in the highest honours of the Romans. Now for the present I have sent Athanasius and Peter, so that each party may have surety by some agreement. And almost immediately Belisarius also will visit you to complete all the arrangements which have been agreed upon between us." After writing this the emperor sent Athanasius, the brother of Alexander, who had previously gone on an embassy to Atalarie, as has been said,<sup>1</sup> and for the second time Peter the orator, whom I have mentioned above,<sup>2</sup> enjoining upon them to assign to Theodatus the estates of the royal household, which they call "patrimonium"; and not until after they had drawn up a written document and had secured oaths to fortify the agreement were they to summon Belisarius from Sicily, in order that he might take over the palace and all Italy and hold them under guard. And he wrote to Belisarius that as soon as they should summon him he should go thither with all speed.

## VII

But meantime, while the emperor was engaged in these negotiations and these envoys were travelling to Italy, the Goths, under command of Asinarius and Gripas and some others, had come with a great army into Dalmatia. And when they had reached the

<sup>1</sup> Chap. iii. 13.    <sup>2</sup> Chap. iii. 30, iv. 17 ff.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Μαυρίκιος σφίσιν, ὁ Μούνδου υἱός, οὐκ ἐς παρά-  
 ταξιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἦκων ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν  
 3 ὑπηντίαζε. καρτερᾶς δὲ γενομένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς<sup>1</sup>  
 Γότθων μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἔπεσον, Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες καὶ Μαυρίκιος ὁ στρα-  
 4 τηγός. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Μούνδος περιώδυνός  
 τε γενόμενος τῇ ξυμφορᾷ καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἥδη  
 ἐχόμενος,<sup>2</sup> αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδενὶ  
 5 κόσμῳ ἦει. τῆς τε μάχης κρατερᾶς<sup>3</sup> γεγενημένης  
 τὴν Καδμεῖαν νίκην Ῥωμαίοις νικῆσαι ξυνέπεσε.  
 τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίῳ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔπε-  
 σον καὶ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει, Μούνδος δὲ  
 κτείνων τε καὶ ὄπη παρατύχοι ἐπόμενος καὶ κατέ-  
 χειν τὴν διάνοιαν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ξυμφορᾷ ὡς  
 ἠκιστα ἔχων ὑφ' ὅτου δὴ τῶν φευγόντων πληγεῖς  
 ἔπεσε, καὶ ἡ τε δίωξις ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ τὰ  
 6 στρατόπεδα ἐκάτερα διελέλυτο. τότε Ῥωμαῖοι  
 ἀνεμνήσθησαν τοῦ Σιβύλλης ἔπους, ὅπερ ἁδόμε-  
 νον ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ τέρας αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν εἶναι.  
 ἔλεγε γὰρ τὸ λόγιον ἐκείνο ὡς, ἡνίκα ἂν Ἀφρικὴ  
 7 ἔχῃται, ὁ κόσμος ξὺν τῷ γόνῳ ὀλεῖται. τὸ μέντοι  
 χρηστήριον οὐ τοῦτο ἐδήλου, ἀλλ' ὑπείπον ὅτι δὴ  
 αὐθις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις Λιβύη ἔσται καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεί-  
 πειν, ὅτι τότε ξὺν τῷ παιδὶ ἀπολεῖται Μούνδος.  
 λέγει γὰρ ὧδε· Africa capta Mundus cum nato  
 8 peribit.<sup>4</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ κόσμον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ Μούνδος

<sup>1</sup> ξυμβολῆς K : προσβολῆς L.    <sup>2</sup> ἐχόμενος L : γενόμενος K.

<sup>3</sup> κρατερᾶς L : κατὰ τάχος K.

<sup>4</sup> Africa . . . peribit : the original Greek characters may be read in Haury, note *ad loc.* The last word (*peribit*) is uncertain : *peribit* Braun, *peribunt* Compagetti, *periet* Bury.



neighbourhood of Salones, Mauricius, the son of Mundus, who was not marching out for battle but, with a few men, was on a scouting expedition, encountered them. A violent engagement ensued in which the Goths lost their foremost and noblest men, but the Romans almost their whole company, including their general Mauricius. And when Mundus heard of this, being overcome with grief at the misfortune and by this time dominated by a mighty fury, he went against the enemy without the least delay and regardless of order. The battle which took place was stubbornly contested, and the result was a Cadmean victory <sup>1</sup> for the Romans. For although the most of the enemy fell there and their rout had been decisive, Mundus, who went on killing and following up the enemy wherever he chanced to find them and was quite unable to restrain his mind because of the misfortune of his son, was wounded by some fugitive or other and fell. Thereupon the pursuit ended and the two armies separated. And at that time the Romans recalled the verse of the Sibyl, which had been pronounced in earlier times and seemed to them a portent. For the words of the saying were that when Africa should be held, the "world" would perish together with its offspring. This, however, was not the real meaning of the oracle, but after intimating that Libya would be once more subject to the Romans, it added this statement also, that when that time came Mundus would perish together with his son. For it runs as follows: "*Africa capta Mundus cum nato peribit.*" <sup>2</sup> But since "*mundus*" in the Latin tongue has the force of "world," they thought

<sup>1</sup> Proverbial for a victory in which the victor is slain; probably from the story of the Theban, or "Cadmean," heroes Eteocles and Polynices.

<sup>2</sup> See Bury's edition of Gibbon, Vol. IV. App. 15, for a discussion of this oracle.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- δύναται, ὥντο ἀμφὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ λόγιον εἶναι.  
 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὥδέ πη ἔσχευ. ἐς δὲ Σάλωνας  
 9 εἰσῆλθεν οὐδεὶς. οἳ τε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπ' οἴκου  
 ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐπεὶ ἄναρχοι τὸ παράπαν ἐλείποντο,  
 καὶ οἱ Γότθοι τῶν ἀρίστων οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀπολε-  
 λειμμένον ἐς δέος ἐλθόντες τὰ ἐκείνῃ φρούρια  
 10 ἔσχον· οὐδὲ γὰρ Σαλώνων τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπίστευον,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐ λίαν αὐτοῖς εὐνοϊκῶς ἐχόντων  
 Ῥωμαίων οὐ ταύτῃ ὥκνητο.  
 11 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Θευδάτος ἤκουσε, τοὺς πρέσβεις  
 ἤδη παρ' αὐτὸν ἤκοντας ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ.  
 ἐς γὰρ ἀπιστίαν ἱκανῶς ἐπεφύκει καὶ βέβαιον τὴν  
 διάνοιαν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰὲν αὐτὸν ἢ παροῦσα  
 τύχη ἀλόγως τε καὶ τῶν καθεστώτων οὐκ ἐπαξίως  
 ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ἀπῆγε<sup>1</sup> μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν καὶ  
 12 αὐθις ἐς ἄφατόν τι ἀντικαθίστη θράσος. καὶ τότε  
 γοῦν τοῦ θανάτου πέρι Μούνδου τε ἀκούσας καὶ  
 Μαυρικίου ἐπήρθη τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ οὐ κατὰ λό-  
 γον τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤδη  
 13 παρ' αὐτὸν ἤκοντας ἐρεσχελεῖν ἠξίου. καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
 αὐτῷ Πέτρος ποτὲ ἄτε ὑπερβάντι τὰ βασιλεῖ  
 ὡμολογημένα ἐλοιδορεῖτο, ἄμφω Θευδάτος δημο-  
 14 σία καλέσας ἔλεξε τοιαύδε· “Σεμνὸν μὲν τὸ χρήμα  
 τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ ἄλλως ἔντιμον καθέστηκεν ἐς  
 πάντας ἀνθρώπους, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γέρας ἐς τόδε οἱ  
 πρέσβεις ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διασώζουσιν. ἐς ὃ τῇ<sup>2</sup>  
 σφετέρᾳ ἐπιεικείᾳ φυλάξωσι τὸ τῆς πρεσβείας  
 15 ἀξίωμα. κτεῖναι γὰρ ἄνδρα πρεσβευτὴν ἐνδίκως  
 νενομίκασιν ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν ἢ ἐς βασιλέα ὑβρί-

<sup>1</sup> ἀπῆγε KL : ἐπῆγεν H.

<sup>2</sup> ἐς ὃ τῇ H Dindorf : ἐς ὃ τε K, ἐσότου L.

that the saying had reference to the world. So much, then, for this. As for Salones, it was not entered by anyone. For the Romans went back home, since they were left altogether without a commander, and the Goths, seeing that not one of their nobles was left them, fell into fear and took possession of the strongholds in the neighbourhood: for they had no confidence in the defences of Salones, and, besides, the Romans who lived there were not very well disposed towards them.

When Theodatus heard this, he took no account of the envoys who by now had come to him. For he was by nature much given to distrust, and he by no means kept his mind steadfast, but the present fortune always reduced him now to a state of terror which knew no measure, and this contrary to reason and the proper understanding of the situation, and again brought him to the opposite extreme of unspeakable boldness. And so at that time, when he heard of the death of Mundus and Mauricius, he was lifted up exceedingly and in a manner altogether unjustified by what had happened, and he saw fit to taunt the envoys when they at length appeared before him. And when P  ter on one occasion remonstrated with him because he had transgressed his agreement with the emperor, Theodatus called both of them publicly and spoke as follows: "The position of envoys is a proud one and in general has come to be held in honour among all men; but envoys preserve for themselves these their prerogatives only so long as they guard the dignity of their embassy by the propriety of their own conduct. For men have sanctioned as just the killing of an envoy whenever he is either found to have insulted a

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- σας φαίνεται, ἢ γυναικὸς ἄλλω ξυνοικούσης ἐς  
 16 εὐνὴν ἔλθοι.” Θεωδάτος μὲν ταῦτα ἐς Πέτρον  
 ἀπέρριψεν, οὐχ ὅτι γυναικὶ ἐπλησίασεν, ἀλλ’  
 ὅπως ἰσχυρίσῃται ἐγκλήματα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γίνε-  
 σθαι ἐς πρεσβευτοῦ θάνατον ἄγοντα. οἱ δὲ πρέσ-  
 17 βεις ἀμείβονται τοῖσδε· “Οὔτε ταῦτα, ὦ Γότθων  
 ἀρχηγέ, ταύτῃ ἥπερ εἴρηκας ἔχει, οὐτ’ ἂν σὺ  
 παραπετάσῃσιν οὐχ ὑγιέσιν ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐς ἀν-  
 18 θρώπους πρέσβεις ἐνδείξαιο. μοιχῶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ  
 βουλομένῳ πρεσβευτῇ πάρεστι γίνεσθαι, ᾧ γε  
 οὐδὲ ὕδατος μεταλαγχάνειν ὅτι μὴ γνώμῃ τῶν  
 19 φυλασσόντων ῥάδιόν ἐστι. λόγους δέ, ὅσους ἂν  
 ἐκ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> πέμψαντος ἀκηκοὺς εἶπῃ, οὐκ αὐτὸς τὴν  
 ἐντεῦθεν αἰτίαν, ἣν γε οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ τύχῳσιν ὄντες,  
 εἰκότως ἂν λάβοι, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν κελεύσας φέροιτο ἂν  
 δικαίως τὸ ἐγκλημα τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ πρεσβευτῇ τὸ  
 20 τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἐκτελέσαι περίεστι μόνον. ὥστε  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν ἅπαντα ἐροῦμεν ὅσα ἀκούσαντες πρὸς  
 βασιλέως ἐστάλημεν, σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἀκούσῃ πρῶτος·  
 ταραττομένῳ γάρ σοι ἀδικεῖν ἀνθρώπους πρέσβεις  
 21 λελείψεται. οὐκοῦν ὥρα σοι ἐκύντι ἐπιτελεῖν  
 ὅσα βασιλεῖ ὠμολόγησας. ἐπ’ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο  
 ἡμεῖς ἤκομεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν<sup>2</sup> ἐπιστολὴν ἣν σοι  
 ἔγραψεν ἤδη λαβὼν ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἃ τοῖς  
 Γότθων πρῶτοις ἔπεμψεν,<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ  
 22 αὐτοῖς δώσομεν.” ταῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων  
 ἐπεὶ παρόντες οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες ἤκου-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τοῦ KL: αὐτοῦ H.      <sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν μὲν H: om. KL.

<sup>3</sup> ἤδη . . . ἔπεμψεν KL: om. H.

sovereign or has had knowledge of a woman who is the wife of another." Such were the words with which Theodatus inveighed against Peter, not because he had approached a woman, but, apparently, in order to make good his claim that there were charges which might lead to the death of an ambassador. But the envoys replied as follows: "The facts are not, O Ruler of the Goths, as thou hast stated them, nor canst thou, under cover of flimsy pretexts, wantonly perpetrate unholy deeds upon men who are envoys. For it is not possible for an ambassador, even if he wishes it, to become an adulterer, since it is not easy for him even to partake of water except by the will of those who guard him. And as for the proposals which he has received from the lips of him who has sent him and then delivers, he himself cannot reasonably incur the blame which arises from them, in case they be not good, but he who has given the command would justly bear this charge, while the sole responsibility of the ambassador is to have discharged his mission. We, therefore, shall say all that we were instructed by the emperor to say when we were sent, and do thou hear us quietly; for if thou art stirred to excitement, all thou canst do will be to wrong men who are ambassadors. It is time, therefore, for thee of thine own free will to perform all that thou didst promise the emperor. This, indeed, is the purpose for which we have come. And the letter which he wrote to thee thou hast already received, but as for the writing which he sent to the foremost of the Goths, to no others shall we give it than to them." When the leading men of the barbarians, who were present, heard this speech of the envoys, they bade

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- σαν, Θευδάτω ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα σφίσιν  
 23 ἐπέστελλον. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε· “Ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν  
 ἡμῖν ἐς πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς ἀνελέσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν,  
 ὅπερ ὑμᾶς ἡσθῆναι εἰκός. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλασ-  
 σοῦσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀξιώτεροι ἔσεσθε,<sup>1</sup> ἐς ἡμᾶς  
 24 ἦξετε. ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἐς ἡθὴ ξένα ἢ ἀλλόγνωτα·  
 Γότθους καλοῦμεν, ἀλλ’ ὧν ἡθάσι γενομένοις ὑμῖν  
 εἶτα ἐπὶ καιροῦ διεστάναι τετύχηκε. διὰ ταῦτα  
 νῦν Ἀθανάσιός τε καὶ Πέτρος ἐστάλησαν αὐτόσε,  
 25 οἷς ὑμᾶς ἐς ἅπαντα ξυλλαβέσθαι χρεών.” τοσ-  
 αῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Θευδάτος δὲ ἅπαντα  
 ἀναλεξάμενος οὔτε τι ἔργῳ ἐπιτελεῖν ὧν βασιλεῖ  
 ὑπέσχετο ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐν φυλακῇ οὐ  
 μετρία εἶχε.  
 26 Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπεὶ ταῦτά τε καὶ  
 τὰ ἐν Δαλματίᾳ ξυνενεχθέντα ἠκηκόει, Κωνσταν-  
 τیانον μὲν, ὃς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱπποκόμων ἦρχεν,  
 εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἔπεμψε, στρατιάν τε αὐτῷ ἐπιστεί-  
 λας ἐνθένδε ἀγεῖραι καὶ Σαλῶνων ἀποπειρῶσθαι,  
 ὅπη ἂν αὐτῷ δυνατὰ εἴη· Βελισάριον δὲ ἐς Ἰταλίαν  
 τε κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευσεν ἵεναι καὶ Γότθοις ὡς  
 27 πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι. Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐς  
 Ἐπίδαμνον τε ἀφίκετο<sup>2</sup> καὶ χρόνον τινα δια-  
 τρίψας ἐνταῦθα στρατιάν ἤγειρεν. ἐν τούτῳ  
 δὲ Γότθοι, Γρίπα σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, στρατῷ  
 ἑτέρῳ ἐς Δαλματίαν ἀφικόμενοι Σάλωνα ἰσχυόν·  
 28 Κωνσταντιανὸς τε, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄς  
 ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἄρας ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου τῷ παντὶ  
 στόλῳ ὀρμίζεται ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον, ἥ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ

<sup>1</sup> ἔσεσθε Haury : ἐσῆσθε K, ἐσεῖσθε L, ἔσῃσθε H.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλόγνωτα H : ἄλλως ἀγνώτα KL.

<sup>3</sup> ἀφίκετο KH : ἀφικόμενος L.



them give to Theodatus what had been written to them. And it ran as follows: "It has been the object of our care to receive you back into our state, whereat you may well be pleased. For you will come to us, not in order to be made of less consequence, but that you may be more honoured. And, besides, we are not bidding the Goths enter into strange or alien customs, but into those of a people with whom you were once familiar, though you have by chance been separated from them for a season. For these reasons Athanasius and Peter have been sent to you, and you ought to assist them in all things." Such was the purport of this letter. But after Theodatus had read everything, he not only decided not to perform in deed the promises he had made to the emperor, but also put the envoys under a strict guard.

But when the Emperor Justinian heard these things and what had taken place in Dalmatia, he sent Constantianus, who commanded the royal grooms, into Illyricum, bidding him gather an army from there and make an attempt on Salones, in whatever manner he might be able; and he commanded Belisarius to enter Italy with all speed and to treat the Goths as enemies. So Constantianus came to Epidamnus and spent some time there gathering an army. But in the meantime the Goths, under the leadership of Gripas, came with another army into Dalmatia and took possession of Salones; and Constantianus, when all his preparations were as complete as possible, departed from Epidamnus with his whole force and cast anchor at Epidaurus,<sup>1</sup> which is on the right as

<sup>1</sup> Modern Ragusa Vecchia.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· ἔνθα δὴ ἄνδρας  
 οὓς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ Γρίπας ἔπεμψε τετύχηκεν  
 29 εἶναι. καὶ αὐτοῖς τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπισκοποῦσι καὶ  
 τὸ Κωνσταντιανοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔδοξε θάλασσί  
 τε καὶ ἡ γῇ ξύμπασα στρατιωτῶν ἔμπλεως  
 εἶναι, παρά τε τὸν Γρίπαν ἐπανήκοντες μυριάδας  
 ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγας Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐπάγεσθαι  
 30 ἰσχυρίζοντο. ὁ δὲ ἐς δέος μέγα τι ἐμπεσὼν  
 ὑπαντιάζειν τε τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἀξύμφορον ᾤετο  
 εἶναι καὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως  
 στρατοῦ, οὕτω δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντος, ἥκιστα  
 31 ἤθελε· μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσεν ὃ τε  
 Σαλῶνων περίβολος, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη  
 καταπεπτῶκει, καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ᾠκημένων τὸ ἐς  
 32 Γότθους κομιδῇ ὑποπτον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνθένδε  
 παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπαλλαγεῖς ὅτι τάχιστα ἐν  
 τῷ πεδίῳ στρατοπεδεύεται ὁ μεταξὺ Σαλῶνων  
 τε καὶ Σκάρδωνος<sup>1</sup> πόλεώς ἐστι. Κωνσταντιανὸς  
 δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις πλέων ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου,  
 Λυσίνῃ προσέσχειν, ἢ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κεῖται.  
 33 ἐνθένδε τε τῶν ἐπομένων τινὰς ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
 τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Γρίπα διερευνώμενοι ὅποιά ποτε  
 ἦ ἔσαγγείλωσιν. ἅφ' ὧν δὴ τὸν πάντα λόγον  
 πυθόμενος εὐθὺς Σαλῶνων κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει.  
 34 καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἐγεγόνει, ἀποβιβά-  
 σας τὸ στράτευμα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον αὐτὸς μὲν  
 ἐνταῦθα ἡσύχαζε, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ  
 ἀπολέξας Σιφίλαν τε αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστή-  
 σας, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, ἐκέλευε  
 τὴν στενοχωρίαν καταλαβεῖν ἣν δὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Σκάρδωνος Haury: Σκαρδάκης Maltretus, κρόμωνος L.  
κρότωνος L.

one sails into the Ionian Gulf. Now it so happened that some men were there whom Gripas had sent out as spies. And when they took note of the ships and the army of Constantianus it seemed to them that both the sea and the whole land were full of soldiers, and returning to Gripas they declared that Constantianus was bringing against them an army of men numbering many tens of thousands. And he, being plunged into great fear, thought it inexpedient to meet their attack, and at the same time he was quite unwilling to be besieged by the emperor's army, since it so completely commanded the sea; but he was disturbed most of all by the fortifications of Salones (since the greater part of them had already fallen down), and by the exceedingly suspicious attitude on the part of the inhabitants of the place toward the Goths. And for this reason he departed thence with his whole army as quickly as possible and made camp in the plain which is between Salones and the city of Scardon.<sup>1</sup> And Constantianus, sailing with all his ships from Epidaurus, put in at Lysina,<sup>2</sup> which is an island in the gulf. Thence he sent forward some of his men, in order that they might make enquiry concerning the plans of Gripas and report them to him. Then, after learning from them the whole situation, he sailed straight for Salones with all speed. And when he had put in at a place close to the city, he disembarked his army on the mainland and himself remained quiet there; but he selected five hundred from the army, and setting over them as commander Siphilas, one of his own bodyguards, he commanded them to seize the narrow pass<sup>3</sup> which, as he had been informed, was in the

<sup>1</sup> Near Sebenico.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Lesina.

<sup>3</sup> An important approach to the city from the west.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- πόλεως προαστείῳ ἐπύθετο εἶναι. καὶ Σιφίλας  
 35 μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ  
 στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς Σάλωνας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐσελά-  
 σαντες τῷ πεζῷ καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ προσωρμίσαντο.  
 36 Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν Σαλῶνων τοῦ περιβόλου  
 ἐπεμελεῖτο, ἀνοικοδομούμενος σπουδῇ ἅπαντα  
 ὅσα αὐτοῦ κατεπεπτώκει· Γρίπας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν  
 Γότθων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαῖοι Σάλωνας ἔσχον,  
 ἐβδόμη ἡμέρᾳ ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης  
 ἀπεκομίσθησαν, οὕτω τε Κωνσταντιανὸς Δαλ-  
 ματίαν τε καὶ Λιβουρνίαν ξύμπασαν ἔσχε.  
 Γότθους προσαγαγόμενος ἅπαντας οἱ ταύτῃ  
 37 ἴδρυντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Δαλματίαν ταύτῃ πῃ  
 ἔσχε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ πρῶτον ἔτος  
 ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Προκόπιος συνέ-  
 γραψε.

## VIII

- Βελισάριος δὲ φύλακας ἔν τε Συρακούσῃ καὶ  
 Παρόρμῳ ἀπολιπὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐκ Μεσσήνης  
 διέβη ἐς Ῥήγιον (ἐνθα δὴ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν τε  
 Σκύλλαν γεγονέναι μυθοποιοῦσι καὶ Χάρυβδι<sup>1</sup>),  
 καὶ αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν ὁσημέραι οἱ ταύτῃ αἰ-  
 2 θρωποι. τῶν τε γὰρ χωρίων ἀτειχίστων σφίσιν  
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντων, φυλακὴν αὐτῶν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον  
 καὶ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Γότθων μάλιστα τῇ<sup>1</sup> παρούσῃ  
 3 ἀρχῇ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἤχθοντο. ἐκ δὲ Γότθων αὐτό-  
 μολος παρὰ Βελισάριον Ἐβρίμους ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς  
 ἐπομένοις ἦλθεν, ὁ Θευδάτου γαμβρός, ὃς τῇ  
 ἐκείνου θυγατρὶ Θευδεινίτῃ ξυμφέει. αὐτίκα τε

<sup>1</sup> τῇ παρ. Haury: τῇ γὰρ παρ. MSS.

outskirts of the city. And this Siphilas did. And Constantianus and his whole land army entered Salones on the following day, and the fleet anchored close by. Then Constantianus proceeded to look after the fortifications of the city, building up in haste all such parts of them as had fallen down; and Gripas, with the Gothic army, on the seventh day after the Romans had taken possession of Salones, departed from there and betook themselves to Ravenna; and thus Constantianus gained possession of all Dalmatia and Liburnia, bringing over to his side all the Goths who were settled there. Such were the events in Dalmatia. And the winter drew to a close, and thus ended the first year of this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

### VIII

AND Belisarius, leaving guards in Syracuse and Panormus, crossed with the rest of the army from Messina to Rhegium (where the myths of the poets say Scylla and Charybdis were), and every day the people of that region kept coming over to him. For since their towns had from of old been without walls, they had no means at all of guarding them, and because of their hostility toward the Goths they were, as was natural, greatly dissatisfied with their present government. And Ebrimous came over to Belisarius as a deserter from the Goths, together with all his followers; this man was the son-in-law of Theodatus, being married to Theodenanthe, his daughter. And

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

παρὰ βασιλέα σταλείς, γερῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχε  
 4 καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρικίων ἀξίωμα ἦλθε. τὸ δὲ στρά-  
 τευμα ἐκ Ῥηγίου πεζῇ διὰ Βριττίων τε καὶ  
 Λευκανῶν ἦει, παρηκολούθει τε ἄγχιστα τῆς  
 5 ἡπείρου ὁ τῶν νηῶν στόλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Καμ-  
 πανίαν ἀφίκοντο, πόλει ἐνέτυχον ἐπιθαλασσία,  
 Νεαπόλει ὄνομα, χωρίου τε φύσει ἐχυρᾷ<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 6 Ἰότθων πολλῶν φρουρὰν ἐχούσῃ. καὶ τὰς μὲν  
 ναῦς Βελισάριος ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἔξω βελῶν  
 ὄντι ὀρμίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγὺς  
 στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενος πρῶτον μὲν τὸ φρου-  
 ριον ὃ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστὶν ὁμολογίᾳ εἶλεν,  
 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δεομένοις ἐπέτρεπε  
 τῶν τινὰς λογίμων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμψαι,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπέιπώσι τε ὅσα αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις ἐστὶ  
 καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀκούσαντες τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ πᾶν  
 7 ἀγγεῖλωσιν. αὐτίκα οὖν οἱ Νεαπολῖται Στέφανον  
 πέμπουσιν. ὃς ἐπεὶ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦκεν, ἔλεξε  
 τοιάδε·

“Οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖς, ὦ στρατηγέ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας  
 Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας στρατεύων,  
 οἳ πόλιν τε μικρὰν οἰκοῦμεν καὶ βαρβάρων  
 δεσποτῶν φρουρὰν ἔχομεν, ὥστε οὐδ' ἀντιπρᾶξαι,  
 8 ἢν ἐθέλωμεν, ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουροῖς  
 τοῖσδε ξυμβαίνει παιδίας τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ  
 τιμιώτατα ὑπὸ ταῖς Θευδάτου χερσὶν ἀπολι-  
 9 ποῦσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φυλακῇ ἥκειν. οὐκοῦν,  
 ἢν τι ἐς ὑμᾶς<sup>2</sup> πράξωσιν, οὐ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ  
 10 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καταπροδιδόντες φανήσονται. εἰ

<sup>1</sup> χωρίου τε φύσει ἐχυρᾷ K : χωρίου τε ἐχυροῦ L

<sup>2</sup> ὑμᾶς Grotius : ἡμᾶς MSS.

he was straightway sent to the emperor and received many gifts of honour and in particular attained the patrician dignity. And the army of Belisarius marched from Rhegium through Bruttium and Lucania, and the fleet of ships accompanied it, sailing close to the mainland. But when they reached Campania, they came upon a city on the sea, Naples by name, which was strong not only because of the nature of its site, but also because it contained a numerous garrison of Goths. And Belisarius commanded the ships to anchor in the harbour, which was beyond the range of missiles, while he himself made his camp near the city. He then first took possession by surrender of the fort which is in the suburb, and afterwards permitted the inhabitants of the city at their own request to send some of their notables into his camp, in order that they might tell what their wish was and, after receiving his reply, report to the populace. Straightway, therefore, the Neapolitans sent Stephanus. And he, upon coming before Belisarius, spoke as follows:

“You are not acting justly, O general, in taking the field against men who are Romans and have done no wrong, who inhabit but a small city and have over us a guard of barbarians as masters, so that it does not even lie in our power, if we desire to do so, to oppose them. But it so happens that even these guards had to leave their wives and children, and their most precious possessions in the hands of Theodatus before they came to keep guard over us. Therefore, if they treat with you at all, they will plainly be betraying, not the city, but themselves.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

δὲ δεῖ τάλιθθες οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ  
τὰ ξύμφορα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βουλευσάμενοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς  
ἤκετε. Ῥώμην μὲν γὰρ ἐλοῦσιν ὑμῖν καὶ Νεά-  
πολις οὐδενὶ πότῳ ὑποχειρία ἔσται, ἐκείνης δέ,  
ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἀποκρουσθέντες οὐδὲ ταύτην ἀσφαλῶς  
11 ἔξετε. ὥστε τὴν ἅλλως ὁ χρόνος ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ  
προσεδρεία τετρίψεται ταύτῃ.”

Ἰουσαῖτα μὲν Στέφανος εἶπε. Βελισάριος δὲ  
ἀμείβεται ὧδε·

12 “Ὅ μὲν εὖ ἢ ἄλλως ἡμᾶς βουλευσαμένους  
ἐνθάδε ἤκειν οὐ Νεαπολίταις σκοπεῖν δώσομεν.  
ἂ δέ ἐστι τῆς ὑμετέρας βουλῆς ἄξια, βουλόμεθα  
σκοπομένους ὑμᾶς οὕτω δὴ πράσσειν ὅσα ἂν  
13 ξυνοίσειν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μέλλῃ. δέξασθε τοίνυν τῇ  
πόλει τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ  
ὑμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἥκοιτα, καὶ  
14 μὴ τὰ πάντων ἀνιαρότατα ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔλησθε. ὅσοι  
μὲν γὰρ δουλείαν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀναδιόμενοι τῶν  
αἰσχυρῶν ἐς πόλεμον χωροῦσιν, οὗτοι δὲ ἔν γε  
τῷ ἀγῶνι εὐημεροῦντες εὐτυχήματα διπλᾶ ἔχουσι.  
ξὺν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἐλευθερίαν  
κτησάμενοι, καὶ ἡσσώμενοι φέρονται τι αὐτοῖς  
παραμύθιον, τὸ μὴ ἐκόντες τῇ χείρῳ ἔπεσθαι  
15 τύχῃ. οἷς δὲ παρὸν ἀμαχητὶ ἐλευθέροις εἶναι,  
οἱ δὲ ὅπως τὴν δουλείαν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν ἐς  
ἀγῶνα καθιστῶνται, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ νεικηκότες, ἂν  
οὕτω τύχοι, ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐσφάλησαν.  
καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐλασσόνως ἢ ἐβούλοντο  
ἀπαλλάξαντες ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοδαιμονίᾳ καὶ



And if one must speak the truth with no concealment, you have not counselled to your advantage, either, in coming against us. For if you capture Rome, Naples will be subject to you without any further trouble, whereas if you are repulsed from there, it is probable that you will not be able to hold even this city securely. Consequently the time you spend on this siege will be spent to no purpose."

So spoke Stephanus. And Belisarius replied as follows :

"Whether we have acted wisely or foolishly in coming here is not a question which we propose to submit to the Neapolitans. But we desire that you first weigh carefully such matters as are appropriate to your deliberations and then act solely in accordance with your own interests. Receive into your city, therefore, the emperor's army, which has come to secure your freedom and that of the other Italians, and do not choose the course which will bring upon you the most grievous misfortunes. For those who, in order to rid themselves of slavery or any other shameful thing, go into war, such men, if they fare well in the struggle, have double good fortune, because along with their victory they have also acquired freedom from their troubles, and if defeated they gain some consolation for themselves, in that they have not of their own free will chosen to follow the worse fortune. But as for those who have the opportunity to be free without fighting, but yet enter into a struggle in order to make their condition of slavery permanent, such men, even if it so happens that they conquer, have failed in the most vital point, and if in the battle they fare less happily than they wished, they will have, along with their general ill-

- τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσσης ξυμφορὰν ἔξουσι. πρὸς μὲν  
 16 οὖν Νεαπολίτας ἡμῖν τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. Γότθοις  
 δὲ τοῖσδε τοῖς παρῴουσιν αἵρεσιν δίδομεν, ἢ ξὺν  
 ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ τετάχθαι,  
 ἢ κακῶν ἀπαθέσιν τὸ παράπαν οἴκαδε<sup>1</sup> ἵεναι.  
 17 ὥς, ἦν τούτων ἀπάντων αὐτοί τε καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 ἀμελήσαντες ὅπλα ἡμῖν ἀνταίρειν τολμήσητε,  
 ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἦν θεὸς θέλῃ, τῷ προστυχόντι  
 18 ὥς πολεμῶ χρήσθαι. εἰ μέντοι βουλομένοις ἢ  
 Νεαπολίταις τά τε βασιλέως ἐλέσθαι καὶ δουλείας  
 οὕτω χαλεπῆς ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν ἀνα-  
 δέχομαι τὰ πιστὰ διδοὺς ἔσεσθαι πρὸς ἡμῶν ἃ  
 Σικελιωταὶ πρῶν ἐλπίσαντες ψευδορκίους ἡμᾶς  
 οὐκ ἔσχον εἰπεῖν.”  
 19 Ταῦτα μὲν Στέφανον Βελισάριος ἐς τὸν δῆμον  
 ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν. ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ μεγάλα ὑπέ-  
 σχετο ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, Νεαπολίτας ἐς εὐνοίαν  
 20 τὴν βασιλέως ὁρμήσονται. Στέφανος δὲ ἐς τὴν  
 πόλιν ἦκων τοὺς τε Βελισαρίου λόγους ἀπήγγελλε  
 καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸς ἀπεφαίνετο βασιλεῖ μάχεσθαι  
 21 ἀξύμφορον εἶναι. καὶ οἱ ξυνέπρασεν Ἀντίοχος,  
 Σύρος μὲν ἀνὴρ, ἐκ παλαιοῦ δὲ ὠκημένος ἐν  
 Νεαπόλει ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίᾳ καὶ  
 δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ξυνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ  
 22 ἐνταῦθα ἔχων. Πάστωρ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος  
 ῥήτορε μὲν ἦσθην καὶ λίαν ἐν γε Νεαπολίταις  
 λογίμω, Γότθοις δὲ φίλῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ τὰ  
 παρόντα ὥς ἡκιστα βουλομένῳ μεταβάλλεσθαι.  
 23 τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι βουλευσαμένῳ ὅπως τὰ πρᾶσσό-  
 μενα ἐν κωλύμῃ ἔσται, πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα τὸ

<sup>1</sup> τὸ παράπαν οἴκαδε Haury : οἴκαδε τὸ παράπαν MSS.

fortune, also the calamity of defeat. As for the Neapolitans, then, let these words suffice. But as for these Goths who are present, we give them the choice, either to array themselves hereafter on our side under the great emperor, or to go to their homes altogether immune from harm. Because, if both you and they, disregarding all these considerations, dare to raise arms against us, it will be necessary for us, also, if God so wills, to treat whomever we meet as an enemy. If, however, it is the will of the Neapolitans to choose the cause of the emperor and thus to be rid of so cruel a slavery, I take it upon myself, giving you pledges, to promise that you will receive at our hands those benefits which the Sicilians lately hoped for, and with regard to which they were unable to say that we had sworn falsely."

Such was the message which Belisarius bade Stephanus take back to the people. But privately he promised him large rewards if he should inspire the Neapolitans with good-will toward the emperor. And Stephanus, upon coming into the city, reported the words of Belisarius and expressed his own opinion that it was inexpedient to fight against the emperor. And he was assisted in his efforts by Antiochus, a man of Syria, but long resident in Naples for the purpose of carrying on a shipping business, who had a great reputation there for wisdom and justice. But there were two men, Pastor and Asclepiodotus, trained speakers and very notable men among the Neapolitans, who were exceedingly friendly toward the Goths, and quite unwilling to have any change made in the present state of affairs. These two men, planning how they might block the negotiations, induced the multitude to demand many serious

- πλήθος ἐνηγέτην προΐσχεσθαι καὶ Βελισάριον  
 ὄρκοις καταλαμβάνειν ὅτι δὴ τούτων ἀντίκα  
 24 μάλ᾽α πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεύξονται. ἐν βιβλιδίῳ δὲ  
 ἅπαντα γράψαντε ὅσα Βελισάριον οὐκ ἂν τις  
 25 ἐνδέξασθαι ὑπετόπησε Στεφάνῳ ἔδοσαν. ὅς,  
 ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸ βασιλέως στρατόπεδον αὐθις ἀφίκετο,  
 τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιδείξας τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπινθά-  
 νητο εἰ οἱ πάντα τε ἐπιτελέσαι ὅσα Νεαπολίται  
 προτείνονται καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑμείσθαι βουλο-  
 μένῳ εἶη. ὁ δὲ αὐτόν, ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἐπιτελῇ  
 26 ἔσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος, ἀπεπέμψατο. ταῦτα Νεα-  
 πολίται ἀκούσαντες τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο  
 ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον τῇ πόλει τὸ βασι-  
 27 λέως στράτευμα δέχεσθαι. ἀπαντήσκειν γὰρ  
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρίζετο<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, εἰ τῷ  
 ἱκανοὶ Σικελιωτῶν τεκμηριῶσαι, οἷς δὴ τετύχηκεν  
 ἔναγχος βαρβάρων τυράννων τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ  
 βασιλείαν ἀλλαξαμένοις, ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ  
 28 ἀπαθεῖσι δυσκόλων ἀπάντων. καὶ πολλῷ θορύβῳ  
 ἐχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ὡς δὴ αὐτὰς ἀνακλι-  
 νοῦντες ἦσαν. Γότθοις δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν ἡδονῇ τὰ  
 πρᾶσσόμενα, κωλύειν μέντοι οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες  
 ἐκποδὼν ἴσταντο.  
 29 Πάστωρ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος τὸν τε δῆμον  
 καὶ Γότθους ἅπαντας ἐς ἓνα συγκαλέσαντες χῶρον  
 ἔλεξαν τοιάδε· “Πόλεως μὲν πλήθος ἑαυτοῖς τε  
 καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν προΐεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπει-  
 κός, ἄλλως τε ἦν καὶ μηδενὶ” τῶν δοκίμων κοινώ-  
 σαντες εἶτα αὐτόνομον τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιή-  
 30 σονται γνώσιν. ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀνάγκη ξὺν ἡμῶν ὅσον

<sup>1</sup> σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρίζετο K : αὐτοῖς σφισιν ἰσχυρίζετο L.

<sup>2</sup> μηδενὶ L : ἡδονῇ K.

concessions, and to try to force Belisarius to promise on oath that they should forthwith obtain what they asked for. And after writing down in a document such demands as nobody would have supposed that Belisarius would accept, they gave it to Stephanus. And he, returning to the emperor's army, shewed the writing to the general, and enquired of him whether he was willing to carry out all the proposals which the Neapolitans made and to take an oath concerning them. And Belisarius promised that they should all be fulfilled for them and so sent him back. Now when the Neapolitans heard this, they were in favour of accepting the general's assurances at once and began to urge that the emperor's army be received into the city with all speed. For he declared that nothing unpleasant would befall them, if the case of the Sicilians was sufficient evidence for anyone to judge by, since, as he pointed out, it had only recently been their lot, after they had exchanged their barbarian tyrants for the sovereignty of Justinian, to be, not only free men, but also immune from all difficulties. And swayed by great excitement they were about to go to the gates with the purpose of throwing them open. And though the Goths were not pleased with what they were doing, still, since they were unable to prevent it, they stood out of the way.

But Pastor and Alepiodotus called together the people and all the Goths in one place, and spoke as follows: "It is not at all unnatural that the populace of a city should abandon themselves and their own safety, especially if, without consulting any of their notables, they make an independent decision regarding their all." But it is necessary for us, who are on

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- οὐπω ἀπολουμένους ὕστατον ἔρανον τῇ πατρίδι  
 31 τήνδε παρέχεσθαι τὴν παραίνεσιν. ὀρώμεν τοί-  
 νυν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες πολῖται, καταπροδιδόναι Βελι-  
 σαρίῳ ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειγομένους,  
 πολλά τε ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγγελλομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι  
 32 καὶ ὄρκους δεινοτάτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμείσθαι. εἰ  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀναδέχεσθαι οἷός τέ ἐστιν  
 ὥς ἐς αὐτὸν ἦξει τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος, οὐδεὶς  
 ἂν ἀντείποι<sup>1</sup> μὴ οὐχὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ξύμφορα εἶναι.  
 33 τῷ γὰρ κυρίῳ γενησομένῳ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα χαρί-  
 ζεσθαι πολλὴ ἄνοια. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν ἀδήλῳ  
 κεῖται, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀξιόχρεώς ἐστι τὴν  
 τῆς τύχης ἀναδέχεσθαι γνώμην, σκέψασθε ὑπὲρ  
 34 οἷων ὑμῖν συμφορῶν ἡ σπουδὴ<sup>2</sup> γίγνεται. ἦν γὰρ  
 τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθοι τῶν δυσμενῶν περιέσσονται, ὥς  
 πολεμίους ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ δεινότερα σφᾶς αὐτοῖς  
 35 εἰργασμένους κολάσουσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη βιαζό-  
 μειοι, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ ἐθελοκακοῦντες ἐς τὴν προδο-  
 σίαν καθίστασθε. ὥστε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ κρατή-  
 σαντι τῶν πολεμίων ἴσως ἄπιστοί τε φανούμεθα  
 καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων προδύται, καὶ ὅτε δραπεταὶ  
 γεγενημένοι, ἐς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα φρουρὰν πρὸς  
 36 βασιλέως κατὰ<sup>3</sup> τὸ εἰκὸς ἔξομεν. ὁ γὰρ του προ-  
 δότου τετυχηκὼς τῇ μὲν χάριτι ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα  
 νικήσας ἦσθη, ὑποψία δὲ ὕστερον τῇ ἐκ τῶν  
 πεπραγμένων μισεῖ καὶ φοβεῖται τὸν εὐεργέτην,  
 αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας γνωρίσματα  
 37 ἔχων. ἦν μέντοι πιστοὶ Γότθοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι  
 γενώμεθα, γενναίως ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον, αὐ-  
 τοί τε τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσαντες μεγάλα ἡμᾶς

<sup>1</sup> ἂν ἀντείποι Vitelli : ἀντείπη K, ἀντείποι L.

<sup>2</sup> ἡ σπουδὴ L : ἐν σπουδῇ K. <sup>3</sup> κατὰ L : ἐς K.



the very point of perishing together with you, to offer as a last contribution to the fatherland this advice. We see, then, fellow citizens, that you are intent upon betraying both yourselves and the city to Belisarius, who promises to confer many benefits upon you and to swear the most solemn oaths in confirmation of his promises. Now if he is able to promise you this also, that to him will come the victory in the war, no one could deny that the course you are taking is to your advantage. For it is great folly not to gratify every whim of him who is to become master. But if this outcome lies in uncertainty, and no man in the world is competent to guarantee the decision of fortune, consider what sort of misfortunes your haste is seeking to attain. For if the Goths overcome their adversaries in the war, they will punish you as enemies and as having done them the foulest wrong. For you are resorting to this act of treason, not under constraint of necessity, but out of deliberate cowardice. So that even to Belisarius, if he wins the victory over his enemies, we shall perhaps appear faithless and betrayers of our rulers, and having proved ourselves deserters, we shall in all probability have a guard set over us permanently by the emperor. For though he who has found a traitor is pleased at the moment of victory by the service rendered, yet afterwards, moved by suspicion based upon the traitor's past, he hates and fears his benefactor, since he himself has in his own possession the evidences of the other's faithlessness. If, however, we shew ourselves faithful to the Goths at the present time, manfully submitting to the danger, they will give us great rewards in case they win



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀγαθὰ δράσουσι καὶ Βελισάριος ἡμῖν νευικηκώς,  
 38 ἂν οὕτω τύχη, συγγνώμων ἔσται. εὐνοια γὰρ  
 ἀποτυχοῦσα πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων<sup>1</sup> ὅτι μὴ ἄξυ-  
 39 νέτου κολάζεται. τί δὲ καὶ παθόντες καταρρω-  
 δήκατε τῶν πολεμίων τὴν προσεδρείαν, οἳ οὔτε  
 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες οὔτε του ἀποκεκλεισ-  
 μένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων κάθησθε οἴκοι, τῷ τε περι-  
 βόλῳ καὶ φρουροῖς τοῖσδε τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχοντες·  
 οἴόμεθα δὲ οὐδ' ἂν Βελισάριον ἐς τήνδε ξυμβῆναι  
 τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἡμῖν, εἴ τινα βία τὴν πόλιν αἰρή-  
 40 σειν ἱλπίδα εἶχε. καίτοι εἰ τὰ εἰκαία καὶ ἡμῖν  
 ξυνοίσοντα ποιεῖν ἤθελεν, οὐ Νεαπολίτας αἰτὸν  
 δεδίσσασθαι ἐχρῆν οὐδὲ τῇ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐς Γότθους  
 ἀδικία τὴν οἰκίαν βεβαιοῦν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ Θεου-  
 δάτῳ τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐς χεῖρας ἵεναι, ὅπως κινδύνου  
 τε καὶ προδοσίας ἡμετέρας χωρὶς ἡ πόλις ἐς τὸ  
 τῶν νικούντων χωρήσει κράτος.”  
 41 Τοσαῦτα Πάστωρ τε καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδατος εἰ-  
 πόντες τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρήγον ἰσχυριζομένους  
 τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδενὸς ἰνδεᾶ ἔσεσθαι,  
 καὶ Γότθοι δὲ φυλάξειν ἀσφαλῶς τὸν περίβολον  
 42 ἰσχυρίζοντο. οἷς δὴ Νεαπολίται ἡγμένοι ἐκέλευον  
 Βελισάριον εἰθέρει ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.  
 43 ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. πολλάκις τε  
 τοῦ περιβόλου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἀπεκρούσθη, τῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν ἀπολέσας πολλούς, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς  
 44 δὴ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινε. τὸ γὰρ  
 Νεαπόλεως τεῖχος τὰ μὲν θαλάσση, τὰ δὲ δυσχω-

<sup>1</sup> ἀνθρώπων K: ἀνθρώπου L.

the mastery over the enemy, and Belisarius, if it should so happen that he is the victor, will be prone to forgive. For loyalty which fails is punished by no man unless he be lacking in understanding. But what has happened to you that you are in terror of being besieged by the enemy, you who have no lack of provisions, have not been deprived by blockade of any of the necessities of life, and hence may sit at home, confident in the fortifications and in your garrison here?<sup>1</sup> And in our opinion even Belisarius would not have consented to this agreement with us if he had any hope of capturing the city by force. And yet if what he desired were that which is just and that which will be to our advantage, he ought not to be trying to frighten the Neapolitans or to establish his own power by means of an act of injustice on our part toward the Goths; but he should do battle with Theodatus and the Goths, so that without danger to us or treason on our part the city might come into the power of the victors."

When they had finished speaking, Pastor and Asclepiodotus brought forward the Jews, who promised that the city should be in want of none of the necessities, and the Goths on their part promised that they would guard the circuit-wall safely. And the Neapolitans, moved by these arguments, bade Belisarius depart thence with all speed. He, however, began the siege. And he made many attempts upon the circuit-wall, but was always repulsed, losing many of his soldiers, and especially those who laid some claim to valour. For the wall of Naples was inaccessible, on one side by reason of the sea, and on the other

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Goths; cf. § 5 above.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ρίαις τιςὶν ἀπρόσοδόν τε ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβου-  
 λεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄναντες εἶναι  
 45 οὐδαμῇ ἐσβατόν. καὶ τὸν ὀχετὸν μέντοι, ὃς ἐς τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐσῆγε τὸ ὕδωρ, διελὼν Βελισάριος, οὐ σφό-  
 δρα Νεαπολίτας ἐτάραξεν, ἐπεὶ φρέατα ἐντὸς τε  
 ὄντα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν παρεχόμενα  
 αἰσθησιν τούτου σφίσιν οὐ λίαν ἐδίδου.

## IX

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολιορκούμενοι λανθάνοντες τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ἔπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ Θευδάτου  
 βοηθεῖν σφίσι κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι. Θευδάτος δὲ  
 πολέμου παρασκευὴν τινα ἤκιστα ἐποιεῖτο, ὧν  
 μὲν καὶ φύσει ἄνανδρος, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν  
 2 εἴρηται. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερόν τι ξυμ-  
 βῆναι, ὃ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐξέπληξέ τε καὶ ἐς ὀρρω-  
 δίαν μείζω ἀπήνεγκεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες·  
 3 καὶ ὥς δὲ εἰρήσεται. Θευδάτος καὶ πρότερον μὲν  
 οὐκ ἀμελέτητος<sup>1</sup> ἦν τῶν τι προλέγειν ἐπαγγελλο-  
 μένων τὰς πύστεις<sup>2</sup> ποιεῖσθαι, τότε δὲ τοῖς παρ-  
 οῦσιν ἀπορούμενος, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
 ἐς μαντείας ὀρμᾶν εἴωθε, τῶν τινος Ἑβραίων,  
 δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλὴν ἔχοντος, ἐπυνθάνετο  
 4 ὁποῖόν ποτε τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε τὸ πέρας ἔσται. ὁ  
 δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπήγγελλε χοίρων δεκάδας τρεῖς καθεύ-  
 ξαντι ἐν οἰκίσκοις τρισὶ καὶ ὄνομα ποιησαμένῳ  
 δεκάδι ἐκάστη, Γότθων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἀμελέτητος V : ἀτέλεστος L.

<sup>2</sup> πύστεις Braun : πίστεις MSS.

because of some difficult country, and those who planned to attack it could gain entrance at no point, not only because of its general situation, but also because the ground sloped steeply. However, Belisarius cut the aqueduct which brought water into the city; but he did not in this way seriously disturb the Neapolitans, since there were wells inside the circuit-wall which sufficed for their needs and kept them from feeling too keenly the loss of the aqueduct.

## IX

So the besieged, without the knowledge of the enemy, sent to Theodatus in Rome begging him to come to their help with all speed. But Theodatus was not making the least preparation for war, being by nature unmanly, as has been said before.<sup>1</sup> And they say that something else happened to him, which terrified him exceedingly and reduced him to still greater anxiety. I, for my part, do not credit this report, but even so it shall be told. Theodatus even before this time had been prone to make enquiries of those who professed to foretell the future, and on the present occasion he was at a loss what to do in the situation which confronted him—a state which more than anything else is accustomed to drive men to seek prophecies; so he enquired of one of the Hebrews, who had a great reputation for prophecy, what sort of an outcome the present war would have. The Hebrew commanded him to confine three groups of ten swine each in three huts, and after giving them respectively the names of Goths, Romans, and the soldiers of the

<sup>1</sup> Chap. iii. 1.

- βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν, ἡμέρας ῥητὰς ἡσυχῇ μέ-  
 5 νειν. Θεωδάτος δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
 παρὴν ἡ κυρία, ἐν τοῖς οἰκίσκοις ἄμφω γενόμενοι  
 ἐθεῶντο τοὺς χοίρους, εὐρόν τε αὐτῶν οἷς μὲν τὸ  
 Γότθων ἐπὴν ὄνομα δυοῖν ἀπολελειμμένοιιν νε-  
 κροὺς ἅπαντας, ζῶντας δὲ ὀλίγων χωρὶς ἅπαντας  
 ἐς οὓς τὸ τῶν βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν ὄνομα ἦλθεν.<sup>1</sup>  
 ὅσοι μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκλήθησαν, τούτοις δὲ ξυν-  
 ἔβη ἀπορρυῆναι μὲν τὰς τρίχας ἅπασι, περιεῖναι  
 6 δὲ ἐς ἡμισυ μάλιστα. ταῦτα Θεωδίτῳ θεασαμένῳ  
 καὶ ξυμβαλλομένῳ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἀπόβασιν  
 δέος φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν μέγα, εὖ εἰδότι ὥς Ῥωμαῖοις  
 μὲν ξυμπεσεῖται πάντως τεθνήξασθαι τε κατὰ  
 ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων στερήσεσθαι, Γότθοις  
 δὲ ἡσσωμένοις τὸ γένος ἐς ὀλίγους ἀποκεκρίσθαι,  
 ἐς βασιλέα δέ, ὀλίγων οἱ στρατιωτῶν ἀπολου-  
 7 μένων, τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἀφίξασθαι κράτος. καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο Θεωδάτῳ λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν ὁρμὴν ἐπι-  
 πεσεῖν ἐς ἀγῶνα Βελισαρίῳ καθίστασθαι. περὶ  
 μὲν οὖν τούτων λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὥς πη ἐς αὐτὰ  
 πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀπιστίας ἔχει.  
 8 Βελισάριος δὲ Νεαπολίτας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ  
 θάλατταν πολιορκῶν ἡσχαλλεν. οὐ γάρ οἱ οὐδὲ  
 προσχωρήσειν ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ᾤετο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ  
 ἀλώσεσθαι ἠλπίζεν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν δυσ-  
 9 κολίαν ἀντιστατοῦσαν ὥς μάλιστα εἶχε. καὶ ὁ  
 χρόνος αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> τριβόμενος ἐνταῦθα ἡνία, λογιζό-  
 μενον ὅπως μὴ χεიმῶνος ὥρα ἐπὶ Θεωδάτον τε  
 10 ἀναγκάζεται καὶ Ῥώμην ἰέναι. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῷ  
 στρατῷ ἐπήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι, μέλλων ἐν-

<sup>1</sup> ἦλθεν V: ἦν L.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν L: αὐτῷ V.

emperor, to wait quietly for a certain number of days. And Theodatus did as he was told. And when the appointed day had come, they both went into the huts and looked at the swine ; and they found that of those which had been given the name of Goths all save two were dead, whereas all except a few were living of those which had received the name of the emperor's soldiers ; and as for those which had been called Romans, it so happened that, although the hair of all of them had fallen out, yet about half of them survived. When Theodatus beheld this and divined the outcome of the war, a great fear, they say, came upon him, since he knew well that it would certainly be the fate of the Romans to die to half their number and be deprived of their possessions, but that the Goths would be defeated and their race reduced to a few, and that to the emperor would come, with the loss of but a few of his soldiers, the victory in the war. And for this reason, they say, Theodatus felt no impulse to enter into a struggle with Belisarius. As for this story, then, let each one express his views according to the belief or disbelief which he feels regarding it.

But Belisarius, as he besieged the Neapolitans both by land and by sea, was beginning to be vexed. For he was coming to think that they would never yield to him, and, furthermore, he could not hope that the city would be captured, since he was finding that the difficulty of its position was proving to be a very serious obstacle. And the loss of the time which was being spent there distressed him, for he was making his calculations so as to avoid being compelled to go against Theodatus and Rome in the winter season. Indeed he had already even given orders to the army to pack up, his intention



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- θένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. καί οἱ ἐπὶ  
 πλείστον ἀπορουμένῳ εὐτυχία τοιαύδε ξυνηνέχθη  
 11 χρήσθαι. τῶν τινα Ἰσαύρων ἐπιθυμία ἔσχε τὴν  
 τοῦ ὀχετοῦ οἰκοδομίαν θεάσασθαι, καὶ ὄντινα  
 τρόπον τῇ πόλει τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος χρεῖαν παρεί-  
 12 χετο. ἐσβάς τε τῆς πόλεως ἄποθεν, ὅθεν αὐτὸν  
 διέρρηξε Βελισάριος, ἐβάδιζε πόνῳ οὐδενί, ἐπεὶ  
 13 τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτὸν ἄτε διερρωγότα ἐπελελοίπει. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, πέτρα μεγάλη  
 ἐνέτυχεν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων χερσὶν ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ  
 14 πρὸς τῆς φύσεως τοῦ χωρίου ἀποτεθείσῃ. ταύτῃ  
 τῇ πέτρᾳ οἱ τὸν ὀχετὸν δειμάμενοι πάλαι τὴν  
 οἰκοδομίαν ἐνάψαντες διώρυχα ἐνθένδε ἐποιοῦν,  
 οὐκ ἐς δίοδον μέντοι ἀνθρώπου ἱκανῶς ἔχουσαν.  
 15 ἀλλ' ὅσον τῷ ὕδατι τὴν πορείαν παρέχεσθαι. καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο ξυνέβαινεν οὐκ εὖρος τὸ αὐτὸ παντα-  
 χόσε τοῦ ὀχετοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ στενοχωρία ἐν  
 τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ὑψηντίαζεν, ἀνθρώπῳ, ἄλλως  
 τε καὶ τεθωρακισμένῳ ἢ ἀσπίδα φέροντι, ἀπό-  
 16 ρευτος οὔσα. ταῦτα τῷ Ἰσαύρῳ κατανοήσαντι  
 οὐκ ἀμήχανα ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν  
 πόλιν ἰέναι, ἣν ὀλίγῳ μέτρῳ τὴν ἐκείνῃ διώρυχα  
 17 εὐρυτέραν ποιήσονται. ἄτε δὲ αὐτὸς ἀφανὴς τε  
 ὢν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἐς λόγους  
 ἤκων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς Παύκαριν ἤνεγκεν, ἄνδρα  
 Ἰσαυροὶ, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου ὑπασπισταῖς εὐδοκι-  
 μούντα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Παύκαρις τὸν πάντα λόγον  
 18 αὐτίκα τῷ στρατηγῷ ἡγγεῖλε. Βελισάριος δὲ τῇ  
 τοῦ λόγου ἡδοιῇ ἀναπνεύσας καὶ χρήμασι με-



being to depart from there as quickly as possible. But while he was in the greatest perplexity, it came to pass that he met with the following good fortune. One of the Isaurians was seized with the desire to observe the construction of the aqueduct, and to discover in what manner it provided the supply of water to the city. So he entered it at a place far distant from the city, where Belisarius had broken it open, and proceeded to walk along it, finding no difficulty, since the water had stopped running because the aqueduct had been broken open. But when he reached a point near the circuit-wall, he came upon a large rock, not placed there by the hand of man, but a part of the natural formation of the place. And those who had built the aqueduct many years before, after they had attached the masonry to this rock, proceeded to make a tunnel from that point on, not sufficiently large, however, for a man to pass through, but large enough to furnish a passage for the water. And for this reason it came about that the channel of the aqueduct was not everywhere of the same breadth, but one was confronted by a narrow place at that rock, impassable for a man, especially if he wore armour or carried a shield. And when the Isaurian observed this, it seemed to him not impossible for the army to penetrate into the city, if they should make the tunnel at that point broader by a little. But since he himself was a humble person, and never had come into conversation with any of the commanders, he brought the matter before Paucaris, an Isaurian, who had distinguished himself among the guards of Belisarius. So Paucaris immediately reported the whole matter to the general. And Belisarius, being pleased by the report, took new courage, and by promising to reward

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- γάλοις τὸν ἄνθρωπον δωρήσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> ὑποσχόμενος  
 ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἦγε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν Ἰσαύρων  
 τινὰς ἐταιρಿಸάμενον ἐκτομὴν ὡς τάχιστα τῆς  
 πέτρας ποιεῖσθαι, φυλασσόμενον ὅπως τοῦ ἔργου  
 19 μηδενὶ αἴσθησιν δώσουσι. Παύκαρις δέ, Ἰσαύ-  
 ρους ἀπολεξάμενος πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτηδεῖως  
 πάντα<sup>2</sup> ἔχοντας, ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχετοῦ σὺν αὐτοῖς  
 20 λάθρα ἐγένετο. ἔς τε τὸν χῶρον ἐλθόντες ἵνα δὴ  
 τὴν στεροχωρίαν ἢ πέτρα ἐποίει, ἔργου εἶχοντο,  
 οὐκ ἀξίναις τὴν πέτραν οὐδὲ πελέκεσι τέμνοντες,  
 ὅπως μὴ ἔνδηλα τῷ κτύπῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ποιή-  
 σωσι τὰ πρρασόμενα, ἀλλὰ σιδηρίοις τισὶν ὀξέσιν  
 21 αὐτὴν ἐνδελεχέστατα ξέοντες. καὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ  
 κατείργαστο, ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὰ εἶναι θώρακά  
 τε ἀμπεχομένῳ καὶ ἀσπίδα φέρουντι ταύτη ἵεναι.  
 22 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαντα ἤδη ὡς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἔννοια  
 Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ὡς, ἣν πολέμῳ ἐς Νεάπολιν  
 τῷ στρατῷ ἐσιτητὰ εἶη, τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις ἀπο-  
 λωλέναι ξυμβήσεται καὶ τᾶλλα<sup>3</sup> ξυμπεσεῖν  
 ἅπαντα, ὅσα πόλει πρὸς πολεμίων ἀλούσῃ  
 23 γίνεσθαι εἴωθε. Στέφανόν τε εἰθὺς μεταπεμ-  
 ψάμενος ἔλεξε τοιαύδε· “ Πολλάκις εἶδον πόλεις  
 ἀλούσας καὶ τῶν τηρικαῦτα γινομένων εἰμὶ ἔμ-  
 24 πειρος. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρας ἀναιροῦσιν ἡβηδὸν  
 ἅπαντας, γυναῖκας δὲ θνήσκειν αἰτουμένας οὐκ  
 ἀξιοῦσι κτείνειν, ἀλλ’ ἐς ὕβριν ἀγόμεναι πά-  
 σχουσιν ἀνῆκεστά τε καὶ ἐλέου πολλοῦ ἄξια.  
 25 παῖδας δὲ οὔτε τροφῆς οὔτε παιδείας οὕτω μετα-  
 λαχόντας δουλεύειν ἀνάγκη, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς  
 πάντων ἐχθίστοις, ὧν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> δωρήσεσθαι V: δωρήσασθαι L.      <sup>2</sup> πάντα L: πάντας K.

<sup>3</sup> τᾶλλα Haury: ἄλλα MSS.

the man with great sums of money induced him to attempt the undertaking, and commanded him to associate with himself some of the Isaurians and cut out a passage in the rock as quickly as possible, taking care to allow no one to become aware of what they were doing. Paucaris then selected some Isaurians who were thoroughly suitable for the work, and secretly got inside the aqueduct with them. And coming to the place where the rock caused the passage to be narrow, they began their work, not cutting the rock with picks or mattocks, lest by their blows they should reveal to the enemy what they were doing, but scraping it very persistently with sharp instruments of iron. And in a short time the work was done, so that a man wearing a corselet and carrying a shield was able to go through at that point.

But when all his arrangements were at length in complete readiness, the thought occurred to Belisarius that if he should by act of war make his entry into Naples with the army, the result would be that lives would be lost and that all the other things would happen which usually attend the capture of a city by an enemy. And straightway summoning Stephanus, he spoke as follows: "Many times have I witnessed the capture of cities and I am well acquainted with what takes place at such a time. For they slay all the men of every age, and as for the women, though they beg to die, they are not granted the boon of death, but are carried off for outrage and are made to suffer treatment that is abominable and most pitiable. And the children, who are thus deprived of their proper maintenance and education, are forced to be slaves, and that, too, of the men who are the most odious of all—those on whose hands

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 26 πατέρων αἷμα τεθέανται. ἐὼ γάρ, ὦ φίλε Στέφανε, λέγειν τὸ πῦρ, ᾧ τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀφανίζεται κύλλος. ταῦτα Νεάπολιν τήνδε ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ ταῖς πρότερον ἀλούσαις πόλεσιν ὁρῶν πάσχουσιν, αὐτῆς
- 27 τε καὶ ὑμῶν ἐς οἶκτον ἤκω. μηχαναὶ γάρ μοι πεποίηται νῦν ἐς αὐτήν, ἣν μὴ οὐχὶ ἀλῶναι ἀδύνατον. πόλιν δὲ ἀρχαίαν καὶ οἰκήτορας Χριστιανούς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἄνωθεν ἔχουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τύχης οὐκ ἂν εὐξαιμένην, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαίων στρατηγούντος,<sup>2</sup> ἔλθειν, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ μοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εἰσὶν, ἀδελφούς ἢ ξυγγενεῖς πρὸ τοῦδε ἀπολωλεκότες τοῦ τείχους· ὧν δὴ κατέχειν τὸν θυμόν, ἣν πολέμῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔλωσιν, οὐκ ἂν
- 28 δυναίμην. οὐκοῦν ἕως ἔτι τὸ τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ἐλέσθαι τε καὶ πράσσειν ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστί, βουλευσασθε μὲν τὰ βελτίω, φύγετε δὲ ξυμφοράν· ἥς, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ξυμπιπτούσης ὑμῖν οὐ τὴν τύχην δικαίως, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν αἰτιάσεσθε<sup>3</sup> γνῶ-
- 29 μην.” τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος Στέφανον ἀπεπέμψατο. ὃς ἐς Νεαπολιτῶν τὸν δῆμον παρήλθε δεδακρυμένος τε καὶ πάντα ξὺν οἰμωγῇ
- 30 ἀγγέλλων ὅσα Βελισαρίου λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. οἱ δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ χρῆν<sup>4</sup> Νεαπολίτας ἀθρόους βασιλεῖ κατηκούους γενέσθαι) οὔτε ἔδεισάν τι οὔτε Βελισαρίῳ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐμοῦ L: ἐμοί K.

<sup>2</sup> στρατηγούντος L: στρατηγούντι K.

<sup>3</sup> αἰτιάσεσθε Krašeninnikov: αἰτιάσασθε K, αἰτιάσθε L.

<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲ γὰρ χρῆν Haurý: οὐδὲν δεῖ K, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦ L.

they see the blood of their fathers. And this is not all, my dear Stephanus, for I make no mention of the conflagration which destroys all the property and blots out the beauty of the city. When I see, as in the mirror of the cities which have been captured in times past, this city of Naples falling victim to such a fate, I am moved to pity both it and you its inhabitants. For such means have now been perfected by me against the city that its capture is inevitable. But I pray that an ancient city, which has for ages been inhabited by both Christians and Romans, may not meet with such a fortune, especially at my hands as commander of Roman troops, not least because in my army are a multitude of barbarians, who have lost brothers or relatives before the wall of this town; for the fury of these men I should be unable to control, if they should capture the city by act of war. While, therefore, it is still within your power to choose and to put into effect that which will be to your advantage, adopt the better course and escape misfortune; for when it falls upon you, as it probably will, you will not justly blame fortune but your own judgment." With these words Belisarius dismissed Stephanus. And he went before the people of Naples weeping and reporting with bitter lamentations all that he had heard Belisarius say. But they, since it was not fated that the Neapolitans should become subjects of the emperor without chastisement, neither became afraid nor did they decide to yield to Belisarius.

X

Τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον κατεστή-  
 σατο ὥδε. ἄνδρας ἄμφι τετρακοσίους ἀπολεξά-  
 μενος περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς καὶ ἄρχοντε<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπιστήσας Μάγνον τε, ὃς ἱππικοῦ καταλόγου  
 ἠγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἀρχηγὸν Ἑννης,  
 θωρακίσασθαι τε ἅπαντας καὶ τάς τε ἀσπίδας  
 τὰ τε ξίφη ἀνελομένους ἡσυχάζειν, ἄχρι αὐτὸς  
 2 σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευε. καὶ Βέσσαν μεταπεμφάμενος  
 αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπήγγειλε· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ξὺν αὐτῷ  
 βουλήν τινα περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ποιήσασθαι·  
 3 καὶ ἐπειδὴ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, Μάγνῳ τε καὶ  
 Ἑννῇ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ χωρίον  
 ἐπιδείξας οὐ πρότερον διελὼν τὸν ὀχετὸν ἔτυχε,<sup>2</sup>  
 τοῖς τετρακοσίοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξηγήσασθαι,  
 4 λύχνα ἀνελομένους, ἐκέλευε. καὶ ἄνδρας δύο  
 ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρῆσθαι ἐπισταμένους ξὺν αὐτοῖς  
 ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς  
 γένωνται, τὴν τε πόλιν ξυνταράξαι καὶ τὰ πρασ-  
 5 σόμενα σημήναι σφίσιν οἰοί τε ὦσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ  
 κλίμακας ὅτι πλείστας πρότερον πεποιημένας ἐν  
 παρασκευῇ εἶχεν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸν ὀχετὸν ὑποδύντες ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐβάδιζον, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῷ Βέσσᾳ καὶ  
 Φωτίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα  
 6 ἔπρασσε. πέμψας δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον,  
 ἐγρηγορέναι τε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχειν  
 ἐπέταττε. καὶ πολλοὺς μέντοι ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε·

<sup>1</sup> ἄρχοντε Haury : ἄρχοντα MSS.

<sup>2</sup> διελὼν τὸν ὀχετὸν ἔτυχε K : τὸν ὀχ. ἔτ. διαρρήξας L.



## X

THEN at length Belisarius, on his part, made his preparations to enter the city as follows. Selecting at nightfall about four hundred men and appointing as commander over them Magnus, who led a detachment of cavalry, and Ennes, the leader of the Isaurians, he commanded them all to put on their corselets, take in hand their shields and swords, and remain quiet until he himself should give the signal. And he summoned Bessas<sup>1</sup> and gave him orders to stay with him, for he wished to consult with him concerning a certain matter pertaining to the army. And when it was well on in the night, he explained to Magnus and Ennes the task before them, pointed out the place where he had previously broken open the aqueduct, and ordered them to lead the four hundred men into the city, taking lights with them. And he sent with them two men skilled in the use of the trumpet, so that as soon as they should get inside the circuit-wall, they might be able both to throw the city into confusion and to notify their own men what they were doing. And he himself was holding in readiness a very great number of ladders which had been constructed previously.

So these men entered the aqueduct and were proceeding toward the city, while he with Bessas and Photius<sup>2</sup> remained at his post and with their help was attending to all details. And he also sent to the camp, commanding the men to remain awake and to keep their arms in their hands. At the same time

<sup>1</sup> Cf. chap. v. 3.<sup>2</sup> Cf. chap. v. 5.



- οὓς δὴ εὐτολμοτάτους ᾔετο εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ  
τὴν πόλιν ἰόντων οἱ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν κατωρρωδηκότες  
7 τὸν κίνδυνον ὀπίσω ἀπεκομίζοντο. οὓς ἐπεὶ  
Μάγνος ἔπεσθαί οἱ, καίπερ πολλὰ παραινέσας,  
οὐκ ἔπειθε, παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ξὺν αὐτοῖς  
8 ἐπανῆκε. τούτους δὲ Βελισάριος κακίσας καὶ  
τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπολέξας διακοσίους σὺν Μάγνῳ  
ἶναι ἐκέλευεν. ὧν δὴ καὶ Φώτιος ἡγεῖσθαι θέλων,  
ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἐσεπήδησεν· ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος  
9 αὐτὸν διεκώλυσεν. αἰσχυρθέντες δὲ τοῦ τε  
στρατηγοῦ καὶ Φωτίου τὴν λοιδορίαν καὶ ὅσοι  
τὸν κίνδυνον ἔφευγον, αὐθις αὐτὸν ὑποστήναι  
10 τολμήσαντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς εἶποντο. Βελισάριος δὲ  
δείσας μὴ τῶν πολεμίων τισὶ τῶν πρassoμένων  
αἰσθησις γένηται, οἱ δὴ ἐς τὸν πύργον φυλακὴν  
εἶχον ὃς τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἄγχιστα ἐτύγχανεν ὧν,  
ἐνταῦθά τε ἦλθε καὶ Βέσσαν ἐκέλευε τῇ Γότθων  
φωνῇ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις, ὅπως  
δὴ μή τις αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων πάταγος ἔναυλος  
11 εἶη. καὶ Βέσσας μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναβοήσας μέγα προσ-  
χωρεῖν Βελισαρίῳ παρήνει, πολλὰ σφίσιν ἐπαγ-  
12 γελλόμενος ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐτόθαζον, πολλὰ  
ἐς Βελισαρίον τε καὶ βασιλέα ὑβρίζοντες. ταῦτα  
μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Βέσσα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε.  
13 Ὁ δὲ Νεαπόλεως ὀχετὸς οὐκ ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος  
καλύπτεται μόνον, ἀλλ' οὕτω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ  
πλείστον διήκει, κύρτωμα ἐκ πλίνθου ὠπτημένης  
ὑψηλὸν ἔχων, ὥστε γενόμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου  
οἱ ἀμφὶ Μάγνον τε καὶ Ἐννην ἅπαντες οὐδὲ ὅπου

he kept near him a large force—men whom he considered most courageous. Now of the men who were on their way to the city above half became terrified at the danger and turned back. And since Magnus could not persuade them to follow him, although he urged them again and again, he returned with them to the general. And Belisarius, after reviling these men, selected two hundred of the troops at hand, and ordered them to go with Magnus. And Photius also, wishing to lead them, leaped into the channel of the aqueduct, but Belisarius prevented him. Then those who were fleeing from the danger, put to shame by the railings of the general and of Photius, took heart to face it once more and followed with the others. And Belisarius, fearing lest their operations should be perceived by some of the enemy, who were maintaining a guard on the tower which happened to be nearest to the aqueduct, went to that place and commanded Bessas to carry on a conversation in the Gothic tongue with the barbarians there, his purpose being to prevent any clanging of the weapons from being audible to them. And so Bessas shouted to them in a loud voice, urging the Goths to yield to Belisarius and promising that they should have many rewards. But they jeered at him, indulging in many insults directed at both Belisarius and the emperor. Belisarius and Bessas, then, were thus occupied.

Now the aqueduct of Naples is not only covered until it reaches the wall, but remains covered as it extends to a great distance inside the city, being carried on a high arch of baked brick. Consequently, when the men under the command of Magnus and Eunes had got inside the fortifications, they were

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- 14 ποτὲ γῆς εἰσι ξυμβάλλεσθαι ἐδύναντο. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ πη ἀποβαίνειν ἐνθένδε<sup>1</sup> εἶχον, ἕως οἱ πρῶτοι ἐς χῶρον ἴκοντο οὗ τὸν ὀχετὸν ἀνώροφον ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι καὶ οἰκημα ἦν κομιδῇ ἀπημελημένοι.
- 15 ἐνταῦθα ἔσω γυνή τις ᾤκει, μόνη τε οὔσα καὶ πενία πολλῇ ξυνοικοῦσα, καὶ δένδρον ἐλαίας καθ-
- 16 ὑπερθεν τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἐπεφύκει. οὗτοι ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε οὐρανὸν εἶδον καὶ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἦσθοντο εἶναι, ἐκβαίνειν μὲν διανοοῦντο, μηχανὴν μέντοι οὐδεμίαν εἶχον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ὑψηλὴ γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἢ οἰκοδομία ἔτυχεν οὔσα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνάβασιν τινα
- 17 ἔχουσα. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπορουμένων καὶ ἐς στενοχωρίαν πολλὴν ξυνιόντων (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἰόντων πολὺς τις ξυνέρρει ὁμίλος), ἐγένετο αὐτῶν τινι ἔννοια τῆς
- 18 ἀνόδου ἀποπειράσασθαι. καταθέμενος οἶν αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα, ταῖς τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν βιασάμενος, ἐς τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οἶκημα
- 19 ἦλθε. καὶ αὐτὴν ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν, ἣν μὴ σιωπῇ, κτείνειν ἠπείλησεν. ἡ δὲ καταπλαγῆσα ἄφωνος ἔμεινε. καὶ ὃς ἐκ τοῦ πρέμνου τῆς ἐλαίας ἱμάντα τινὰ ἰσχυρὸν ἀναψάμενος τὴν ἑτέραν τοῦ ἱμάντος ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸν ὀχετὸν ἔρριψεν. οὗ δὲ λαβόμενος
- 20 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος ἀνέβαινε μόλις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβεβήκεσαν ἅπαντες τῆς τε νυκτὸς τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἔτι ἐλείπετο, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύργων δύο τοὺς φύλακας, οὐδέν τι αἰσθανο

<sup>1</sup> ἐνθένδε K : om. L.

one and all unable even to conjecture where in the world they were. Furthermore, they could not leave the aqueduct at any point until the foremost of them came to a place where the aqueduct chanced to be without a roof and where stood a building which had entirely fallen into neglect. Inside this building a certain woman had her dwelling, living alone with utter poverty as her only companion; and an olive tree had grown out over the aqueduct. So when these men saw the sky and perceived that they were in the midst of the city, they began to plan how they might get out, but they had no means of leaving the aqueduct either with or without their arms. For the structure happened to be very high at that point and, besides, offered no means of climbing to the top. But as the soldiers were in a state of great perplexity and were beginning to crowd each other greatly as they collected there (for already, as the men in the rear kept coming up, a great throng was beginning to gather), the thought occurred to one of them to make trial of the ascent. He immediately therefore laid down his arms, and forcing his way up with hands and feet, reached the woman's house. And seeing her there, he threatened to kill her unless she should remain silent. And she was terror-stricken and remained speechless. He then fastened to the trunk of the olive tree a strong strap, and threw the other end of it into the aqueduct. So the soldiers, laying hold of it one at a time, managed with difficulty to make the ascent. And after all had come up and a fourth part of the night still remained, they proceeded toward the wall; and they slew the garrison of two of the towers before the men in them

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- μένους τοῦ κακοῦ, κτείνουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν  
 τοῦ περιβόλου, ἔνθα Βελισάριος ξὺν τῷ Βέσσα  
 καὶ Φωτίῳ εἰστήκει, караδοκῶν τὰ πρασσόμενα.
- 21 καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ στράτευμα<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ταῖς σάλ-  
 πιγξιν ἐκάλουν, Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ περιβόλῳ τὰς  
 κλίμακας ἐρείσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνθένδε ἀνα-  
 22 βαίνειν ἐκέλευε. τῶν δὲ κλιμάκων οὐδεμίαν διή-  
 κειν ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ξυνέβαινει. ἅτε γὰρ  
 αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς οἱ τεχνῖται ποιούμενοι  
 μέτρου τοῦ καθήκοντος οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐξικνεῖσθαι  
 23 ἐγένοντο. διόπερ δύο ἐς ἀλλήλας ξυνδέοντες καὶ  
 ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἀναβαίνοντες οὕτω δὴ τῶν ἐπάλξεων  
 καθυπέρτεροι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐγένοντο. ταῦτα μὲν  
 οὖν Βελισαρίῳ ἐφέρετο τῇδε.
- 24 Ἐς δὲ τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἔνθα  
 οὐχ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαῖοι φυλακὴν εἶχον,  
 οὔτε ταῖς κλίμαξι χρῆσθαι οὔτε ἀναβαίνειν ἐς τὸ  
 25 τεῖχος οἱ στρατιῶται ἐδύναντο. οἱ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι  
 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἤδη προσκεκρουκότες, ἐμπύδιοί τε  
 γεγεννημένοι ὅπως μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαχητὶ ἔλωσι,  
 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἦν ὑπ'<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς  
 ὦσιν<sup>3</sup> ἔχοντες, καρτερῶς τε, καίπερ αὐτοῖς τῆς  
 πόλεως ἤδη ἀλούσης, ἐμάχοντο καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐναν-  
 26 τίων προσβολῇ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων τινὲς ἐπ'  
 αὐτοὺς ἦεσαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀπισθεν βαλλό-  
 μενοι ἔφευγον, καὶ κατὰ κράτος Νεάπολιν ἦλω.  
 καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἤδη ἀνακεκλιμένων ἅπας ὁ Ῥω-  
 27 μαίων στρατὸς εἰσῆει. ὅσοι δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔτε-

<sup>1</sup> τὸ στράτευμα K : om. L.

<sup>2</sup> ἦν ὑπ' Haury : ἂν ὑπ' Vitelli, ἦν ἐπ' Grotius, ἐπ' MSS.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῖς ὦσιν L : αὐτοὺς K, αὐτοῖς Christ.

had an inkling of the trouble. These towers were on the northern portion of the circuit-wall, where Belisarius was stationed with Bessas and Photius, anxiously awaiting the progress of events. So while the trumpeters were summoning the army to the wall, Belisarius was placing the ladders against the fortifications and commanding the soldiers to mount them. But it so happened that not one of the ladders reached as far as the parapet. For since the workmen had not made them in sight of the wall, they had not been able to arrive at the proper measure. For this reason they bound two together, and it was only by using both of them for the ascent that the soldiers got above the level of the parapet. Such was the progress of these events where Belisarius was engaged.

But on the side of the circuit-wall which faces the sea, where the forces on guard were not barbarians, but Jews, the soldiers were unable either to use the ladders or to scale the wall. For the Jews had already given offence to their enemy by having opposed their efforts to capture the city without a fight, and for this reason they had no hope if they should fall into their hands; so they kept fighting stubbornly, although they could see that the city had already been captured, and held out beyond all expectation against the assaults of their opponents. But when day came and some of those who had mounted the wall marched against them, then at last they also, now that they were being shot at from behind, took to flight, and Naples was captured by storm. By <sup>536 A.D.</sup> this time the gates were thrown open and the whole Roman army came in. But those who were stationed



- τάχατο τὰς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τετραμμένας,  
ἐπεὶ κλίμακες σφίσι παροῦσαι οὐδαμῇ ἔτυχον,  
ταύτας δὴ τὰς πύλας ἀφυλίκτους παντάπασιν  
28 οὔσας ἔκαυσαν. ἔρημον γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὸ ἐκείνῃ  
τείχος, ἅτε τῶν φυλάκων δρασμῶ χρησαμένων,  
29 ἐγένετο. φόνος τε ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἐγεγόνει. θυμῷ  
γὰρ ἐχόμενοι ἅπαντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσοις ἀδελ-  
φόν τινα ἢ ξυγγενὴ ἀποθανεῖν τειχομαχοῦντα  
τετύχηκε, τὸν ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ, οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φει-  
δόμενοι, ἔκτεινον, ἕς τε τὰς οἰκίας ἐσβάλλοντες  
παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἡνδραπόδισαν, τὰ δὲ  
χρήματα ἐληίσαντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα οἱ Μασ-  
σαγέται, οἱ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεχόμενοι πολλοὺς  
τῶν ἐς αὐτὰ φυγόντων ἀνείλον, ἕως Βελισάριος  
πανταχόσε περιῶν διεκώλυσέ τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας  
ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·
- 30 “Ἐπειδὴ νενικηκέναι τε ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς  
καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐδοξίας ἀφίχθαι, πόλιν ἀνά-  
λωτον πρότερον οὔσαν ὑποχειρίαν ἡμῖν ποιησά-  
μενος, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ μὴ ἀναξίους εἶναι  
τῆς χάριτος, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἡσσημένους φιλαν-  
θρωπία τὸ δικαίως κεκρατηκέναι τούτων ἐνδείκνυ-  
31 σθαι. μὴ τοίνυν ἀπέραντα Νεαπολίτας μισήσητε,  
μηδὲ ὑπερόριον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχθος  
ποιήσητε. τοὺς γὰρ ἡσσημένους οὐδεὶς τῶν νει-  
32 κηκότων ἔτι μισεῖ. κτείνοντές τε αὐτοὺς οὐ πολε-  
μίων ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθε τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ  
ζημιωθήσεσθε τῶν ὑπηκόων. οὐκοῦν ἀνθρώπους  
τούσδε μηδὲν ἐργάσησθε περαιτέρω κακόν. μηδὲ



about the gates which fronted the east, since, as it happened, they had no ladders at hand, set fire to these gates, which were altogether unguarded; for that part of the wall had been deserted, the guards having taken to flight. And then a great slaughter took place; for all of them were possessed with fury, especially those who had chanced to have a brother or other relative slain in the fighting at the wall. And they kept killing all whom they encountered, sparing neither old nor young, and dashing into the houses they made slaves of the women and children and secured the valuables as plunder; and in this the Massagetæ outdid all the rest, for they did not even withhold their hand from the sanctuaries, but slew many of those who had taken refuge in them, until Belisarius, visiting every part of the city, put a stop to this, and calling all together, spoke as follows:

“Inasmuch as God has given us the victory and has permitted us to attain the greatest height of glory, by putting under our hand a city which has never been captured before, it behooves us on our part to shew ourselves not unworthy of His grace, but by our humane treatment of the vanquished, to make it plain that we have conquered these men justly. Do not, therefore, hate the Neapolitans with a boundless hatred, and do not allow your hostility toward them to continue beyond the limits of the war. For when men have been vanquished, their victors never hate them any longer. And by killing them you will not be ridding yourselves of enemies for the future, but you will be suffering a loss through the death of your subjects. Therefore, do these men no further harm, nor continue to give

- 33 τῇ ὀργῇ πάντα χαρίζεσθε. αἰσχροὺν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων κρατεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θυμοῦ ἡσσοὺς φαίνεσθαι. ὑμῖν δὲ χρήματα μὲν τὰ ἄλλα γινέσθω τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα, γυναῖκες δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσι ξὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἀποδιδόσθω. μανθανέτωσαν δὲ οἱ νενηκημένοι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡλίκων ἐξ<sup>1</sup> ἀβουλίας ἐστέρηνται φίλων.”
- 34 Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παῖδιά καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα Νεαπολίταις πάντα ἀφῆκεν, ὕβρεως οὐδεμιᾶς ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντα, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς στρατιώτας διήλλαξεν.
- 35 οὕτω τε Νεαπολίταις ξυνηνέχθη ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἰχμαλώτοις τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνασώσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ τιμιώτατα
- 36 ἀνακτήσασθαι. ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι χρυσὸν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τιμίων ἔχοντες ἔτυχον, οὗτοι δὲ τὰ πρότερα ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες ἀπεκρύψαντο, καὶ ταύτη τοὺς πολεμίους λαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολαβόντες. ἢ τε πολιορκία ἐς ἡμέρας μάλιστα εἴκοσι κατατείνασα ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.
- 37 Γότθους δὲ τοὺς τῇδε ἀλόντας οὐχ ἡσσοὺς ἢ ὀκτακοσίους ὄντας κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς Βελισάριος παντάπασι διαφυλάξας, οὐκ ἐλασσόνως ἢ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε.
- 38 Πάστῳρ δέ, ὃς ἐς ἀπόνοιαν, ὥς πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, τὸν δῆμον ἐνήγειν, ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλικομένην εἶδεν, ἐς ἀποπληξίαν ἐξέπεσε καὶ ἐξαπίνης ἀπέθανεν, οὔτε νοσήσας πρότερον οὔτε
- 39 ἄλλο τι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθὼν ἄχαρι. Ἀσκληπιόδοτος δέ, ὃς ξὺν αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐπρασσε, ξὺν τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐξ L: τῆς K.

way wholly to anger. For it is a disgrace to prevail over the enemy and then to shew yourselves vanquished by passion. So let all the possessions of these men suffice for you as the rewards of your valour, but let their wives, together with the children, be given back to the men. And let the conquered learn by experience what kind of friends they have forfeited by reason of foolish counsel."

After speaking thus, Belisarius released to the Neapolitans their women and children and the slaves, one and all, no insult having been experienced by them, and he reconciled the soldiers to the citizens. And thus it came to pass for the Neapolitans that on that day they both became captives and regained their liberty, and that they recovered the most precious of their possessions. For those of them who happened to have gold or anything else of value had previously concealed it by burying it in the earth, and in this way they succeeded in hiding from the enemy the fact that in getting back their houses they were recovering their money also. And the siege, which had lasted about twenty days, ended thus. As for the Goths who were captured in the city, not less than eight hundred in number, Belisarius put them under guard and kept them from all harm, holding them in no less honour than his own soldiers.

And Pastor, who had been leading the people upon a course of folly, as has been previously<sup>1</sup> set forth by me, upon seeing the city captured, fell into a fit of apoplexy and died suddenly, though he had neither been ill before nor suffered any harm from anyone. But Asclepiodotus, who was engaged in thi

<sup>1</sup> Chap. viii. 22.

- λογίμων τοῖς περιούσι παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦλθε.  
 40 καὶ αὐτῷ Στέφανος ἐπιτωθάζων ἐλοιδορεῖτο ὥδε·  
 “Ὁρα, ὦ κύκιστε ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οἷα κακὰ  
 τὴν πατρίδα εἰργάσω, τῆς ἐς Γότθους εὐνοίας τὴν  
 41 τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποδόμενος σωτηρίαν. εἴτα εἰ μὲν  
 τοῖς βαρβάροις εὖ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πράγματα, ἡξιώσας  
 ἂν ἔμμισθός τε αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι καὶ ἡμῶν  
 ἕκαστον τῶν τὰ βελτίω βεβουλευμένων τῆς ἐς  
 42 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προδοσίας ὑπαγαγεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 τὴν μὲν πόλιν βασιλεὺς εἴλε, σεσώσμεθα δὲ τῇ  
 τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ, οὕτω δὲ<sup>1</sup> εἰσελθεῖν παρὰ  
 τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐτόλμησας ἄτε οὐ-  
 δὲν δεινὸν οὔτε Νεαπολίτας οὔτε τὸ βασιλέως  
 διαπεπραγμένος στρατόπεδον, ἀξίας τίσεις δί-  
 43 κας.”<sup>2</sup> Στέφανος μὲν τῇ ξυμφορᾷ περιώδυνος ὢν  
 ἐς Ἀσκληπιόδοτον ταῦτα ἀπέρριψεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν  
 ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· “Λέληθας σαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζων  
 ἡμᾶς, ὦ γενναῖε, οἷς δὴ<sup>3</sup> εὐνοίαν τὴν ἐς τοὺς  
 44 Γότθους ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζεις. εὐνους γάρ τις<sup>4</sup> δεσπό-  
 ταις κινδυνεύουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ βεβαίου τῆς γνώ-  
 μης, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἴη. ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν οἱ κρατοῦντες  
 τοιοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας φύλακα ἔξουσιν οἷον ἀρ-  
 τίως πολέμιον εὖρον, ἐπεὶ ὁ τῇ φύσει τὸ πιστὸν  
 45 ἔχων οὐ ξυμμεταβάλλει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν γνώμην. σὺ  
 δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς φερομένων  
 ἐτοίμως ἂν τοὺς τῶν ἐπιόντων ἐνδέξαιο λόγους.  
 ὁ γὰρ τὸ τῆς διανοίας νοσῶν ἄστατον ἅμα τε  
 ἔδεισε καὶ τὴν ἐς τοὺς φιλτάτους ἡρνήσατο πί-

<sup>1</sup> οὕτω δὲ K : οὕτω δὴ LV<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> ἀξίας τίσεις δίκας K : om. L.

<sup>3</sup> δὴ L : δι' KV<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> γάρ τις K pr. m. corr., L : γὰρ τοῖς K pr. m.

intrigue with him, came before Belisarius with those of the notables who survived. And Stephanus mocked and reviled him with these words: "See, O basest of all men, what evils you have brought to your fatherland, by selling the safety of the citizens for loyalty to the Goths. And furthermore, if things had gone well for the barbarians, you would have claimed the right to be yourself a hireling in their service and to bring to court on the charge of trying to betray the city to the Romans each one of us who have given the better counsel. But now that the emperor has captured the city, and we have been saved by the uprightness of this man, and you even so have had the hardihood recklessly to come into the presence of the general as if you had done no harm to the Neapolitans or to the emperor's army, you will meet with the punishment you deserve." Such were the words which Stephanus, who was deeply grieved by the misfortune of the city, hurled against Asclepiodotus. And Asclepiodotus replied to him as follows: "Quite unwittingly, noble Sir, you have been heaping praise upon us, when you reproach us for our loyalty to the Goths. For no one could ever be loyal to his masters when they are in danger, except it be by firm conviction. As for me, then, the victors will have in me as true a guardian of the state as they lately found in me an enemy, since he whom nature has endowed with the quality of fidelity does not change his conviction when he changes his fortune. But you, should their fortunes not continue to prosper as before, would readily listen to the overtures of their assailants. For he who has the disease of inconstancy of mind no sooner takes fright than he denies his pledge to those most dear."

- 46 στιν.” τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος εἶπε.  
 Νεαπολιτῶν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἀνα-  
 χωροῦντα εἶδον, ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι, ἅπαντα αὐτῷ  
 ἐπεκάλουν τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον  
 ἀπέστησαν, πρὶν δὴ ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
 47 κατὰ βραχὺ διεσπάσαντο. οὕτω τε ἐν τῇ Πά-  
 στωρος οἰκίᾳ γενόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξήτουν. τοῖς  
 τε οἰκέταις τεθνάναι Πάστωρα ἰσχυρίζομένοις  
 ἤκιστα πιστεύειν ἤξιουν, ἕως αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ ἀν-  
 θρώπου νεκρὸν ἔδειξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν Νεαπολίται  
 48 ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἀνεσκολόπισαν. οὕτω τε Βελι-  
 σάριον παρητήσαντο ἐφ’ οἷς δικαία ὀργὴ ἐχόμενοι  
 ἔδρασαν, τυχόντες τε αὐτοῦ συγγνώμονος διελύ-  
 θησαν. οὕτω μὲν Νεαπολίται ἀπῆλλαξαν.

XI

Γότθοι<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὅσοις ἀμφί τε Ῥώμην καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη  
 χωρία ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι. καὶ πρότερον τὴν Θεου-  
 δάτου ἡσυχίαν ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι,<sup>2</sup>  
 ὅτι δὴ ἐν γειτόνων οὔσι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ βού-  
 λοιτο διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, ἐν σφίσι τε αἰ τοῖς ὑποψία  
 πολλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενοι,<sup>3</sup> ὥς δὴ τὰ Γότθων  
 πράγματα προδιδούσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐθελου-  
 σίως, ἄλλο τέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐπιμελὲς εἶη, πλήν γε δὴ  
 ὅπως αὐτὸς ἡσυχῇ βιοτεύει, ὥς πλεῖστα περι-  
 βαλλόμενος χρήματα, ἐπειδὴ ἀλῶναι Νεάπολιν  
 ἤκουσαν, ἅπαντά οἱ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἤδη  
 ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐς χωρίον ξυνελέγησαν Ῥώμης ὀγ-

<sup>1</sup> Γότθοι Krašeninnikov : γότθοις MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ποιούμενοι Krašeninnikov : ποιουμένοις MSS.



Such were the words of Asclepiodotus. But the populace of the Neapolitans, when they saw him returning from Belisarius, gathered in a body and began to charge him with responsibility for all that had befallen them. And they did not leave him until they had killed him and torn his body into small pieces. After that they came to the house of Pastor, seeking for the man. And when the servants insisted that Pastor was dead, they were quite unwilling to believe them until they were shown the man's body. And the Neapolitans impaled him in the outskirts of the town. Then they begged Belisarius to pardon them for what they had done while moved with just anger, and receiving his forgiveness, they dispersed. Such was the fate of the Neapolitans.

## XI

BUT the Goths who were at Rome and in the country round about had even before this regarded with great amazement the inactivity of Theodatus, because, though the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he was unwilling to engage them in battle, and they felt among themselves much suspicion toward him, believing that he was betraying the cause of the Goths to the Emperor Justinian of his own free will, and cared for nothing else than that he himself might live in quiet, possessed of as much money as possible. Accordingly, when they heard that Naples had been captured, they began immediately to make all these charges against him openly and gathered

<sup>1</sup> *χρῶμενοι* Krasennikov : *χρωμένοις* K, *χρησαμένοις* L.



- δοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους διέχον, ὅπερ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Ῥεγάτα· ἐνταῦθα<sup>1</sup> ἐνστρατο-  
 πεδεύσασθαι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν ἄριστον εἶναι· πεδία  
 2 γὰρ πολλὰ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἱππόβοτα. ρεῖ δὲ καὶ  
 ποταμός, ὃν Δεκευνόβιον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦ-  
 σιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐννεακαίδεκα περιῶν  
 σημεῖα, ὅπερ ξύνεισιν ἐς τρισκαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν  
 σταδίους, οὕτω δὴ ἐκβάλλει ἐς θάλασσαν ἀμφὶ  
 πόλιν Ταρακίνην, ἧς ἄγχιστα ὄρος τὸ Κίρκαϊόν  
 ἐστιν, οὗ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα τῇ Κίρκῃ ξυγγενέσθαι  
 φασίν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν νήσῳ  
 Ὅμηρος τὰ τῆς Κίρκης οἰκία ἰσχυρίζεται εἶναι.  
 3 ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὥς τὸ Κίρκαϊον τοῦτο,  
 ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης διήκον, νήσῳ ἐμφερές  
 ἐστι, καὶ τοῖς τε πλέουσιν ἄγχιστα τοῖς τε ἐς τὴν  
 ἐκείνην ἡἷονα βαδίζουσι νήσος δοκεῖ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον  
 εἶναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴν τις ἐν αὐτῷ γένηται, τότε δὴ  
 μεταμανθάνει ψευσθῆναι τῆς δόξης τὰ πρότερα.  
 1 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ὅμηρος ἴσως νήσον τὸ χωρίον  
 ὠνόμασεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἄνειμι.<sup>2</sup>  
 5 Ἰότθοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Ῥεγάτα ξυνελέγησαν, βασι-  
 λέα σφίσι τε καὶ Ἰταλιώταις Οὐίττιγιν εἴλοντο,  
 ἄνδρα οἰκίας μὲν οὐκ ἐπιφανοῦς ὄντα, ἐν μάχαις  
 δὲ ταῖς ἀμφὶ Σίρμιον λίαν εὐδοκιμηκότα τὸ πρό-  
 τερον, ἡνίκα τὸν πρὸς Γήπαιδας πόλεμον Θευδέ-  
 6 ριχος διέφερε. Θευδάτος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσας  
 ἐς φυγὴν τε ὄρμητο καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβερναν ἤλαυ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐνταῦθα K: ἐνθένδε γὰρ L.

<sup>2</sup> ἄνειμι L: εἴμι K, ἐπάνειμι Herwerden.

at a place two hundred and eighty stades distant from Rome, which the Romans call Regata.<sup>1</sup> And it seemed best to them to make camp in that place; for there are extensive plains there which furnish pasture for horses. And a river also flows by the place, which the inhabitants call Decennovium<sup>2</sup> in the Latin tongue, because it flows past nineteen mile-stones, a distance which amounts to one hundred and thirteen stades, before it empties into the sea near the city of Taracina; and very near that place is Mt. Circaeum, where they say Odysseus met Circe, though the story seems to me untrustworthy, for Homer declares that the habitation of Circe was on an island. This, however, I am able to say, that this Mt. Circaeum, extending as it does far into the sea, resembles an island, so that both to those who sail close to it and to those who walk to the shore in the neighbourhood it has every appearance of being an island. And only when a man gets on it does he realize that he was deceived in his former opinion. And for this reason Homer perhaps called the place an island. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

The Goths, after gathering at Regata, chose as king over them and the Italians Vittigis, a man who, though not of a conspicuous house, had previously won great renown in the battles about Sirmium, when Theoderic was carrying on the war against the Gepædes.<sup>3</sup> Theodatus, therefore, upon hearing this, rushed off in flight and took the road to Ra-

<sup>1</sup> Near Terracina.

<sup>2</sup> The name is made from *decem* and *novum*, "nineteen," apparently a late formation. The "river" was in reality a canal, extending from Appii Forum to Terracina.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. iii. 15.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- νεν. Οὐίττιγισ δὲ κατὰ τάχος Ὀπταριν ἐπέμψεν,  
 ἄνδρα Γότθον, ἐπιστείλας αὐτῷ ἢ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν  
 7 ἀγαγεῖν Θευδάτον. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῷ Θευδάτῳ οὗ-  
 τος ὁ Ὀπταρις χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε.  
 κόρην τινα Ὀπταρις ἐπὶ κληρόν τε καὶ τὴν ὄψιν  
 8 εὐπρεπῇ οὔσαν ἐμνηστεύετο. ταύτην Θευδάτος  
 ἀφελόμενος τὸν μνηστῆρα τοῦτον, χρήμασιν  
 ἀναπεισθεὶς, ἐτέρῳ ἡγγύησε. διὸ δὴ τῷ τε θυμῷ  
 καὶ Οὐίττιγιδι χαριζόμενος, πολλῇ Θευδάτον  
 σπουδῇ τε καὶ προθυμίᾳ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνείς οὔτε  
 9 ἡμέραν, ἐδίωκε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν ὁδῷ ἔτι πορευό-  
 μενον καταλαμβάνει, ἐς ἑδαφὸς τε ὑπτιον ἀνα-  
 κλίνας ὥσπερ ἱερεῖόν τι ἔθυσεν. αὕτη τε Θευδάτῳ  
 καταστροφή τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τρί-  
 τον ἐχούσης ἔτος, ἐγένετο.
- 10 Οὐίττιγισ δὲ ἅμα Γότθοις<sup>1</sup> τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐς  
 Ῥώμην ἐσήλαυνε. γνούς τε τὰ Θευδάτῳ ξυνειε-  
 χθέντα, ἦσθη τε καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα Θευδέγι-  
 11 σκλον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίησατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ  
 Γότθων πράγματα ἡκιστά οἱ ἐν παρασκευῇ  
 ἔδοξεν εἶναι, βέλτιον ἐνόμισεν ἐς Ῥάβειναν πρῶ-  
 τον ἵεναι, ἐνταῦθά τε πάντα ἐξαρτυσαμένῳ ὡς  
 ἄριστα οὕτω δὴ καθίστασθαι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.  
 ξυγκαλέσας οὖν ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·
- 12 “ Αἱ μέγισται τῶν πράξεων, ἄνδρες συστρα-  
 τιῶται, οὐ καιρῶν ὀξύτητι, ἀλλ’ ἐμβουλία φιλοῦ-  
 13 σιν ὀρθοῦσθαι. πολλάκις γὰρ μέλλησίν τε εἰς  
 τὸν καιρὸν ἐλθοῦσα μᾶλλον ὤνησε καὶ σπουδῇ

<sup>1</sup> Γότθοις K : γότθων L.

venna. But Vittigis quickly sent Optaris, a Goth, instructing him to bring Theodatus alive or dead. Now it happened that this Optaris was hostile to Theodatus for the following cause. Optaris was wooing a certain young woman who was an heiress and also exceedingly beautiful to look upon. But Theodatus, being bribed to do so, took the woman he was wooing from him, and betrothed her to another. And so, since he was not only satisfying his own rage, but rendering a service to Vittigis as well, he pursued Theodatus with great eagerness and enthusiasm, stopping neither day nor night. And he overtook him while still on his way, laid him on his back on the ground, and slew him like a victim for sacrifice. Such was the end of Theodatus' life and of his rule, **which had reached the third year.**

Dec.  
536 A.D.

And Vittigis, together with the Goths who were with him, marched to Rome. And when he learned what had befallen Theodatus, he was pleased and put Theodatus' son Theodegisclus under guard. But it seemed to him that the preparations of the Goths were by no means complete, and for this reason he thought it better first to go to Ravenna, and after making everything ready there in the best possible way, then at length to enter upon the war. He therefore called all the Goths together and spoke as follows :

"The success of the greatest enterprises, fellow-soldiers, generally depends, not upon hasty action at critical moments, but upon careful planning. For many a time a policy of delay adopted at the opportune moment has brought more benefit than the opposite course, and haste displayed at an unseason-

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ἐπιδειχθεῖσα πολλοῖς ἀνιχαίτισε  
 14 τὴν τοῦ κατορθώσῃ ἐλπίδα. ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀπαράσκευοι μέν, ἐξ ἀντιπάλου δὲ τῆς  
 δυνάμεως μαχόμενοι, ἡσσωνται ἢ ὅσοι τὴν ἐλάσσω  
 ἰσχὺν<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἄριστα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὸν  
 15 ἀγῶνα κατέστησαν. μὴ τοίνυν τῷ παραυτίκα  
 φιλοτίμῳ ἐπαιρόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 ἐργασώμεθα· κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ  
 αἰσχυνομένους τὴν εὐκλειαν ἀπέραντον διασώ-  
 σασθαι ἢ τὴν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα φυγόντας ὕβριν ἐς  
 ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι.  
 16 καίτοι καὶ ὑμεῖς δὴ πού ἐπίστασθε ὡς τό τε  
 Γότθων πλήθος καὶ ξύμπασαν σχεδόν τι τὴν τῶν  
 ὀπλων σκευὴν ἐν τε Γαλλίαις καὶ Βενεταῖς καὶ  
 17 χώραις ταῖς ἑκαστάτῳ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. καὶ μὴν  
 καὶ πρὸς τὰ Φράγγων ἔθνη οὐχ ἡσσω<sup>2</sup> τοῦδε  
 πόλεμον διαφέρομεν, ὃν δὴ οὐκ εὖ διαθεμένους ἐφ'  
 ἕτερον χωρεῖν πολλὴ ἄνοια. τοὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀμφί-  
 βολόν τι καθισταμένους καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἓνα πολέμιον  
 18 ὁρῶντας τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσσωσθαι εἶκός. ἐγὼ δέ  
 φημι χρῆναι νῦν μὲν εὐθὺ Ῥαβέννης ἐνθένδε<sup>3</sup>  
 ἵεναι, τὸν δὲ πρὸς Φράγγους πόλεμον διαλί-  
 σαντας τᾶλλα τε διωκημένους ὡς ἄριστα οὕτω  
 δὴ Βελισαρίῳ παντὶ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ διαμά-  
 19 χεσθαι. καὶ μοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τήνδε ὑμῶν<sup>4</sup>  
 ὑποστελλέσθω μηδεῖς, μηδὲ φυγὴν αὐτὴν ὀνο-  
 20 μάζειν ὀκνείτω. δειλίας μὲν γὰρ προσηγορία  
 ἐπιτηδείως προσπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς ὥρθωσεν, ἀν-  
 δρείας δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐν τῷ καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τισὶν

<sup>1</sup> ἰσχὺν MSS.: ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες Scaliger.

<sup>2</sup> ἡσσω Dindorf: ἡσσον MSS., ἡσσονα Scaliger.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνθένδε K: om. L.

<sup>4</sup> ὑμῶν K: om. L.

able time has upset for many men their hope of success. For in most cases those who are unprepared, though they fight on equal terms so far as their forces are concerned, are more easily conquered than those who, with less strength, enter the struggle with the best possible preparation. Let us not, therefore, be so lifted up by the desire to win momentary honour as to do ourselves irreparable harm; for it is better to suffer shame for a short time and by so doing gain an undying glory, than to escape insult for the moment and thereby, as would probably be the case, be left in obscurity for all after time. And yet you doubtless know as well as I that the great body of the Goths and practically our whole equipment of arms is in Gaul and Venetia and the most distant lands. Furthermore, we are carrying on against the nations of the Franks a war which is no less important than this one, and it is great folly for us to proceed to another war without first settling that one satisfactorily. For it is natural that those who become exposed to attack on two sides and do not confine their attention to a single enemy should be worsted by their opponents. But I say that we must now go straight from here to Ravenna, and after bringing the war against the Franks to an end and settling all our other affairs as well as possible, then with the whole army of the Goths we must fight it out with Belisarius. And let no one of you, I say, try to dissemble regarding this withdrawal, nor hesitate to call it flight. For the title of coward, fittingly applied, has saved many, while the reputation for bravery which some men have gained at the



- 21 ἐγγενόμενον, εἶτα ἐς ἥτταν ἐχώρησεν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς  
τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ξυμφόρῳ τῶν  
ἔργων ἔπεσθαι ἄξιον. ἀνδρὸς τε γὰρ ἀρετὴν οὐκ  
ἀρχόμεναι δηλοῦσιν αἱ πράξεις, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶσαι  
22 μηνύουσι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐχ οἱ  
ἂν μετὰ μείζονος τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτίκα μάλα  
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤκοιεν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν  
σώματα ἐς αἰὲ διασώζειν βουλόμενοι ἐκποδῶν  
ἴστανται. πόλεώς τε τῆσδε ἀλώσεως περὶ μηδενὶ  
23 ὑμῶν γινέσθω τι δέος. ἦν τε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡμῖν  
εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχωσι, τὴν πόλιν ἐν βεβαίῳ Γότθοις  
φυλάξουσιν, ἀνάγκης τε πείραν οὐδεμιᾶς ἔξουσιν,  
24 ἐπεὶ ἐν βραχεὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξομεν χρόνῳ. καὶ  
ἦν τι ὑποπτον αὐτοῖς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐστίν, ἐλάσσω  
βλάβψουσι τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι.  
ἄμεινον<sup>1</sup> γὰρ πρὸς δυσμενεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς  
25 διαμάχεσθαι. ὅπως μέντοι μηδέν τι ξυμβήσεται  
τοιούτου, ἐγὼ προνοήσω. ἄνδρας τε γὰρ πολ-  
λοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντα ξυνετώτατον ἀπολείψομεν, οἱ  
Ῥώμην φυλάξαι ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα  
ἡμῖν ἐν καλῷ κείσεται καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκ τῆσδε  
ἡμῶν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως γένοιτο βλάβος.”  
26 Οὐίττιγισ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἐπαινέσαντες δὲ  
Γότθοι ἅπαντες παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν πορείαν.  
μετὰ δὲ Σιλβερίῳ τε τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεὶ καὶ  
Ῥωμαίων τοῖς τε ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολλὰ  
παραινέσας Οὐίττιγισ, καὶ τῆς Θεουδερύχου ἀρχῆς  
ὑπομνήσας, ἐνεκελεύετο ἅπασιν ἐς Γότθων τὸ  
ἔθνος εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν, ὅρκοις αὐτοὺς δεινοτάτοις  
ὑπὲρ τούτων καταλαβών, ἄνδρας τε ἀπολέξας

<sup>1</sup> ἄμεινον K : ἀμήχανον L.



wrong time, has afterward led them to defeat. For it is not the names of things, but the advantage which comes from what is done, that is worth seeking after. For a man's worth is revealed by his deeds, not at their commencement, but at their end. And those do not flee before the enemy who, when they have increased their preparation, forthwith go against them, but those who are so anxious to save their own lives for ever that they deliberately stand aside. And regarding the capture of this city, let no fear come to any one of you. For if, on the one hand, the Romans are loyal to us, they will guard the city in security for the Goths, and they will not experience any hardship, for we shall return to them in a short time. And if, on the other hand, they harbour any suspicions toward us, they will harm us less by receiving the enemy into the city; for it is better to fight in the open against one's enemies. None the less I shall take care that nothing of this sort shall happen. For we shall leave behind many men and a most discreet leader, and they will be sufficient to guard Rome so effectively that not only will the situation here be favourable for us, but also that no harm may possibly come from this withdrawal of ours."

Thus spoke Vittigis. And all the Goths expressed approval and prepared for the journey. After this Vittigis exhorted at length Silverius, the priest<sup>1</sup> of the city, and the senate and people of the Romans, reminding them of the rule of Theoderic, and he urged upon all to be loyal to the nation of the Goths, binding them by the most solemn oaths to do so; and he chose out no fewer than four thousand men,

<sup>1</sup> Silverius was Pope 536-537 A.D.

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οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσας Λεύδεριν, ἡλικίας τε πόρρω ἦκοντα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλὴν ἔχοντα, ἐφ' ᾧ Ῥώμην φυλάξουσιν σφίσιν· οὕτω δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦει, τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς πλεί-  
 27 στους ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκετο, Ματασοῦνθαν τὴν Ἀμαλα-  
 σοῦνθης θυγατέρα, παρθένον τε καὶ ὡραίαν ἥδη οὔσαν, γυναῖκα γαμετὴν οὔτι ἐθελούσιον ἐποιή-  
 28 σατο, ὅπως δὲ βεβαιότεραν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξει τῇ ἐς γένος τὸ<sup>1</sup> Θευδερίχου ἐπιμιξία. ἔπειτα δὲ ἅπαντας Γότθους πανταχόθεν ἀγείρας διεϊπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμει, ὅπλα τε καὶ ἵππους διανέμων κατὰ λόγον<sup>2</sup> ἐκάστω, μόνους δὲ Γότθους οἱ ἐν Γαλλίαις φυλακὴν εἶχον, δέει τῶν Φράγγων οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν  
 29 μεταπέμπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φράγγοι οὗτοι Γερμανοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο. ὅντινα δὲ τρόπον τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὅπη ὠκημένοι Γαλλίας τε ἐπεβά-  
 τευσαν καὶ διάφοροι Γότθοις γεγέννηται, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

## XII

Τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ τε ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γαδείρων ἐσπλέοντι χώρα μὲν ἢ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ,<sup>3</sup> ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, Εὐρώπῃ ὠνόμα-  
 2 σται, ἢ δὲ ἀντιπέρας αὐτῇ Λιβύῃ ἐκλήθη, ἦν δὲ προΐοντες Ἀσίαν καλοῦσι. Λιβύης μὲν οἶν τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· ἔρημος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> τὸ Krašeninnikon : τῷ K, τοῦ L.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ λόγον Hoeschel : καταλόγῳ K, κατὰ λόγων L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀριστερᾷ Maltretus : δεξιᾷ MSS.

and set in command over them Leuderis, a man of mature years who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, that they might guard Rome for the Goths. Then he set out for Ravenna with the rest of the army, keeping the most of the senators with him as hostages. And when he had reached that place, he made Matasuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha, who was a maiden now of marriageable age, his wedded wife, much against her will, in order that he might make his rule more secure by marrying into the family of Theoderic. After this he began to gather all the Goths from every side and to organize and equip them, duly distributing arms and horses to each one; and only the Goths who were engaged in garrison duty in Gaul he was unable to summon, through fear of the Franks. These Franks were called "Germani" in ancient times. And the manner in which they first got a foothold in Gaul, and where they had lived before that, and how they became hostile to the Goths, I shall now proceed to relate.

## XII

As one sails from the ocean into the Mediterranean at Gadir, the land on the left, as was stated in the preceding narrative,<sup>1</sup> is named Europe, while the land opposite to this is called Libya, and, farther on, Asia. Now as to the region beyond Libya<sup>2</sup> I am unable to speak with accuracy;<sup>3</sup> for it is almost wholly destitute of men, and for this reason the

<sup>1</sup> Book III. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* equatorial Africa.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Book IV. xiii. 29.

ἡ πρώτη τοῦ Νείλου ἐκροὴ οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσται, ὃν  
 δὴ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐνθένδε φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν.  
 3 Εὐρώπῃ δὲ εὐθὺς ἀρχομένη Πελοποννήσῳ βεβαιοτά-  
 τατα ἐμφερὲς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσην ἐκατέρωθεν  
 κεῖται. καὶ χώρα μὲν ἡ<sup>1</sup> πρώτη ἀμφὶ τε τὸν  
 ὠκεανὸν καὶ δύνοντα ἥλιόν ἐστιν<sup>2</sup> Ἰσπανία ὠνό-  
 μασται, ἄχρι ἐς Ἀλπεῖς τὰς ἐν ὄρει τῷ Πυρηναίῳ  
 1 οὔσας. Ἀλπεῖς δὲ καλεῖν τὴν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ  
 δίοδον οἱ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποι νενομίκασι. τὸ δὲ  
 ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν Λιγυρίας ὀρίων Γαλλία ἐκλή-  
 θη. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλπεῖς ἕτεραι Γάλλους τε  
 5 καὶ Λιγούρους διορίζουσι. Γαλλία μέντοι Ἰσ-  
 πανίας πολλῶ εὐρυτέρα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ  
 ἐκ στενοῦ ἀρχομένη Εὐρώπῃ ἐς ἀφατόν τι εὖρος  
 6 αἰεὶ προϊόντι κατὰ λόγον χωρεῖ. χώρα δὲ αὕτη  
 ἐκατέρα τὰ μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον πρὸς τοῦ  
 ὠκεανοῦ περιβάλλεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον θάλασ-  
 7 σαι τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν καλουμένην ἔχει. ἐν Γάλ-  
 λοις δὲ ἄλλοι τε ποταμοὶ καὶ Ῥοδανός<sup>3</sup> τε καὶ  
 Ῥήνος ῥέουσιν. τούτοις τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐναντίαν  
 ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντοιν ἄτερος μὲν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν  
 Τυρρηνικὴν θάλασσαν, Ῥήμος δὲ ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν  
 8 τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται. λίμναι τε ἐνταῦθα πολ-  
 λαί, οὗ δὴ Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ὥκηντο, βάρ-  
 βαρον ἔθνος, οὐ πολλοῦ λόγου τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 9 ἄξιον, οἳ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται. τούτων ἐχό-  
 μνοι Ἀρβόρυχοι ὠκοῦν, οἳ ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ  
 Γαλλίᾳ καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἰσπανίᾳ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι  
 10 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ πρὸς  
 ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον Θόριγγοι βάρβαροι, δόντος

<sup>1</sup> ἡ: ἡ MSS.      <sup>2</sup> ἐστίν K: om. L.

<sup>3</sup> ροδανός K: ἡριδανός L.

first source of the Nile, which they say flows from that land toward Egypt, is quite unknown. But Europe at its very beginning is exceedingly like the Peloponnesus, and fronts the sea on either side. And the land which is first toward the ocean and the west is named Spain, extending as far as the alps of the Pyrenees range. For the men of this country are accustomed to call a narrow, shut-in, pass "alps." And the land from there on as far as the boundaries of Liguria is called Gaul. And in that place other alps separate the Gauls and the Ligurians. Gaul, however, is much broader than Spain, and naturally so, because Europe, beginning with a narrow peninsula, gradually widens as one advances until it attains an extraordinary breadth. And this land is bounded by water on either side, being washed on the north by the ocean, and having on the south the sea called the Tuscan Sea. And in Gaul there flow numerous rivers, among which are the Rhone and the Rhine. But the course of these two being in opposite directions, the one empties into the Tuscan Sea, while the Rhine empties into the ocean. And there are many lakes<sup>1</sup> in that region, and this is where the Germans lived of old, a barbarous nation, not of much consequence in the beginning, who are now called Franks. Next to these lived the Arborychi,<sup>2</sup> who, together with all the rest of Gaul, and, indeed, Spain also, were subjects of the Romans from of old. And beyond them toward the east were settled the Thuringian bar-

<sup>1</sup> This vague statement is intended to describe the country west of the Rhine, at that time a land of forests and swamps.

<sup>2</sup> The people whom Procopius names Arborychi must be the Armorici. If so, they occupied the coast of what is now Belgium.

- 11 Αὐγούστου πρώτου βασιλέως, ἰδρύσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν Βουργουζῖνες οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένοι ὄκουν, Σούαβοί τε ὑπὲρ Θορίγγων καὶ Ἀλαμανοί, ἰσχυρὰ ἔθνη. οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι ἅπαντες ταύτῃ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἰδρυντο.
- 12 Προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου Οὐισίγοτθοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν βιασάμενοι Ἰσπανίαν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Γαλλίας τὰ ἐκτὸς Ῥοδανοῦ<sup>1</sup> ποταμοῦ κατήκοα σφίσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ποιησάμενοι ἔσχον.
- 13 ἐτύγχανον δὲ Ἀρβόρυχοι τότε Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται γεγεννημένοι. οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὶ κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐθέλοντες, ἅτε ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ πολιτείαν ἦν πάλαι εἶχον μεταβαλόντας,<sup>3</sup> ποιήσασθαι, ἐλήϊζοντό τε καὶ πανδημεὶ πολεμῆσειντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
- 14 ἦεσαι. Ἀρβόρυχοι δὲ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐνδεικνύμενοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπεὶ βιάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς Γερμανοὶ οὐχ οἱοί τε ἦσαν, ἐταιρίζεσθαί τε ἠξίου
- 15 καὶ ἀλλήλοις κηδεσθαι γίνεσθαι. ἃ δὲ Ἀρβόρυχοι οὕτι ἀκούσιοι ἐνεδέχοντο. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ ἀμφότεροι ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, οὕτω τε ἐς ἓνα λεὼν ξυνελθόντες δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν.
- 16 Καὶ στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἕτεροι ἐς Γάλλων
- 17 τὰς ἐσχατίας φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐτετάχατο. οἳ δὲ οὕτε ἐς Ῥώμην ὅπως ἐπαινήξουσιν ἔχοντες οὐ μὴν οὕτε

<sup>1</sup> Ῥοδανοῦ K : ἠριδανοῦ L.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ . . . κατήκοα K : τὰς . . . κατηκόους L.

<sup>3</sup> μεταβαλόντας V : καταλαβόντας L.



barians, Augustus, the first emperor, having given them this country.<sup>1</sup> And the Burgundians lived not far from them toward the south,<sup>2</sup> and the Suevi<sup>3</sup> also lived beyond the Thuringians, and the Alamani,<sup>4</sup> powerful nations. All these were settled there as independent peoples in earlier times.

But as time went on, the Visigoths forced their way into the Roman empire and seized all Spain and the portion of Gaul lying beyond<sup>5</sup> the Rhone River and made them subject and tributary to themselves. By that time it so happened that the Arborychi had become soldiers of the Romans. And the Germans, wishing to make this people subject to themselves, since their territory adjoined their own and they had changed the government under which they had lived from of old, began to plunder their land and, being eager to make war, marched against them with their whole people. But the Arborychi proved their valour and loyalty to the Romans and shewed themselves brave men in this war, and since the Germans were not able to overcome them by force, they wished to win them over and make the two peoples kin by intermarriage. This suggestion the Arborychi received not at all unwillingly: for both, as it happened, were Christians. And in this way they were united into one people, and came to have great power.

Now other Roman soldiers, also, had been stationed at the frontiers of Gaul to serve as guards. And these soldiers, having no means of returning to Rome, and at the same time being unwilling to yield

<sup>1</sup> Now south-eastern Germany.

<sup>2</sup> Now south-eastern France.

<sup>3</sup> Between the Germans and Burgundians.

<sup>4</sup> In modern Bavaria. <sup>5</sup> *i.e.* west of the Rhone.



- προσχωρεῖν Ἀρειανοῖς οὖσι τοῖς πολεμίοις βουλό-  
 μενοι, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ξὺν τοῖς σημείοις καὶ χώραν  
 ἦν πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐφύλασσαν Ἀρβορύχοις τε  
 καὶ Γερμανοῖς ἔδωκαν, ἔς τε ἀπογόνους τοὺς σφε-  
 τέρους ξύμπαντα παραπέμψαντες διεσώσαντο τὰ  
 πατρία ἦθη, ἃ δὴ σεβόμενοι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τηρεῖν  
 18 ἀξιούσιν. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν καταλόγων ἐς τόδε τοῦ  
 χρόνου δηλοῦνται ἐς οὓς τὸ παλαιὸν τασσόμενοι  
 ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ σημεία τὰ σφέτερα ἐπαγόμενοι  
 οὕτω δὴ ἐς μάχην καθίστανται, νόμοις τε τοῖς  
 19 πατρίοις ἐς αἰὲ χρῶνται. καὶ σχῆμα τῶν Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποδήμασι  
 διασώζουσιν.
- 20 Ἔως μὲν οὖν πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις ἡ αὐτὴ ἔμενε,  
 Γαλλίας τὰ<sup>1</sup> ἐντὸς Ῥοδαινοῦ<sup>2</sup> ποταμοῦ βασιλεὺς  
 εἶχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Ὀδοάκρος ἐς τυραννίδα μετέ-  
 βαλε, τότε δὴ, τοῦ τυράννου σφίσιν ἐνδιδόντος,  
 ξύμπασαν Γαλλίαν Οὐισίγοθοι ἔσχον μέχρι  
 Ἀλπεων αἱ τὰ Γάλλων τε ὅρια καὶ Λιγούρων  
 21 διορίζουσι. πεσόντος δὲ Ὀδοάκρου Θόριγγοί τε  
 καὶ Οὐισίγοθοι τὴν Γερμανῶν δύναμιν ἤδη αὐξο-  
 μένην δειμαίνοντες (πολυάνθρωπός τε γὰρ ἰσχυ-  
 ρότατα<sup>3</sup> ἐγγέγονει καὶ τοὺς αἰὲ ἐν ποσὶν ὄντας ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐβιάζετο) Ἰότθων δὴ καὶ Θευδερίχου  
 τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσποιήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον.  
 οὓς δὴ ἐταιρίσασθαι Θευδέριχος ἐθέλων ἐς κῆδος  
 22 αὐτοῖς ἐπιμίγνυσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίου. τῷ μὲν οὖν  
 τηρικαῦτα Οὐισιγότθων ἡγουμένῳ Ἀλαρίχῳ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> τὰ V: τὰς L.

<sup>2</sup> Ῥοδανοῦ K: ἡριδανοῦ L.

<sup>3</sup> πολυάνθρωπός τε γὰρ ἰσχυρότατα V: πολυανθρωπία γὰρ ἰσχυροτάτη L.

to their enemy<sup>1</sup> who were Arians, gave themselves, together with their military standards and the land which they had long been guarding for the Romans, to the Arborychi and Germans; and they handed down to their offspring all the customs of their fathers, which were thus preserved, and this people has held them in sufficient reverence to guard them even up to my time. For even at the present day they are clearly recognized as belonging to the legions to which they were assigned when they served in ancient times, and they always carry their own standards when they enter battle, and always follow the customs of their fathers. And they preserve the dress of the Romans in every particular, even as regards their shoes.

Now as long as the Roman polity remained unchanged,<sup>2</sup> the emperor held all Gaul as far as the Rhone River; but when Odoacer changed the government into a tyranny, then, since the tyrant yielded to them, the Visigoths took possession of all Gaul as far as the alps which mark the boundary between Gaul and Liguria. But after the fall of Odoacer, the Thuringians and the Visigoths began to fear the power of the Germans, which was now growing greater (for their country had become exceedingly populous and they were forcing into subjection without any concealment those who from time to time came in their way), and so they were eager to win the alliance of the Goths and Theoderic. And since Theoderic wished to attach these peoples to himself, he did not refuse to intermarry with them. Accordingly he betrothed to Alaric the younger, who was then leader of the Visigoths, his

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Visigoths.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* under a recognized imperial dynasty.

- νεωτέρῳ Θεωδιχοῦσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα παρ-  
 θέναι ἡγγύησεν, Ἑρμειεφρίδῳ δὲ τῷ Θορίγγων  
 ἄρχοντι Ἀμαλαβέργαν τὴν Ἀμαλαφρίδης τῆς  
 23 ἀδελφῆς παῖδα. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Φράγγοι τῆς μὲν  
 εἰς αὐτοὺς βίας δέει τῷ Θεωδερίχου ἀπέσχοντο,  
 24 ἐπὶ Βουργουζιώνας δὲ πολέμῳ ἦσαν. ὕστερον  
 δὲ Φράγγοις τε καὶ Γότθοις ξυμμαχίαι τε καὶ  
 ξυνηθῆκαι ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ Βουργουζιῶνων ἐγένοντο,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ ἑκάτεροι μὲν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πέμψωσιν.  
 25 ἦν δὲ ὁποτέρων ἀπολελειμμένων, οἱ ἕτεροι στρα-  
 τεύσαντες τὸ Βουργουζιῶνων καταστρέψονται  
 γένος καὶ χώραν ἣν ἔχουσι παραστήσονται, ποι-  
 νὴν οἱ νεικηκότες παρὰ τῶν οὐ ξυστρατευσάντων  
 ῥήτόν τι χρυσίον κομίζονται, κοινὴν δὲ καὶ οὕτω  
 26 χώραν τὴν δορυάλωτον ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι. οἱ μὲν  
 οὖν Γερμανοὶ πολλῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Βουργουζιώνας  
 κατὰ τὰ σφίσι τε καὶ Γότθοις<sup>1</sup> ξυγκείμενα ἦκον.  
 Θεωδερίχος δὲ παρεσκευάζετο μὲν δῆθαι τῷ λόγῳ,  
 ἐξεπίτηδες δὲ αἰεὶ εἰς τὴν ὕστεραίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς  
 τὴν ἔξοδον ἀπετίθετο, караδοκῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα.  
 27 μόλις δὲ πέμψας ἐπέστελλε τοῖς τοῦ<sup>2</sup> στρατοῦ  
 ἄρχουσι σχολαίτερον τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ  
 ἦν μὲν Φράγγους νεικηκέναι<sup>3</sup> ἀκούσωσι τὸ λοι-  
 πὸν κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι, ἦν δὲ τι ξύμβαμα<sup>4</sup> ξυμ-  
 πεπτωκέναι αὐτοῖς πύθονται, μηκέτι περαιτέρῳ  
 28 πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐποιοῦν  
 ὅσα Θεωδερίχος σφίσιν ἐπήγγελλε, Γερμανοὶ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ γότθοις V: om. L.      <sup>2</sup> τοῦ L: τούτου V.

<sup>3</sup> νεικηκέναι V: νεικημένους L.      <sup>4</sup> ξύμβαμα L: ἀξίωμα V.

<sup>5</sup> ἀκούσωσι . . . μένειν V: ἀκούσασι, μηκέτι περαιτέρῳ πορεύε-  
 σθαι, ἦν δὲ τι τάχος αὐτοῖς ξύμβαμα πύθεται, τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ  
 τάχος ἰέναι L.

own unmarried daughter Theodichusa, and to Hermenefridus, the ruler of the Thuringians, Amalaberga, the daughter of his sister Amalafrida. As a result of this the Franks refrained from violence against these peoples through fear of Theoderic, but they began a war against the Burgundians. But later on the Franks and the Goths entered into an offensive alliance against the Burgundians, agreeing that each of the two should send an army against them; and it was further agreed that if either army should be absent when the other took the field against the nation of the Burgundians and overthrew them and gained the land which they had, then the victors should receive as a penalty from those who had not joined in the expedition a fixed sum of gold, and that only on these terms should the conquered land belong to both peoples in common. So the Germans went against the Burgundians with a great army according to the agreement between themselves and the Goths; but Theoderic was still engaged with his preparations, as he said, and purposely kept putting off the departure of the army to the following day, and waiting for what would come to pass. Finally, however, he sent the army, but commanded the generals to march in a leisurely fashion, and if they should hear that the Franks had been victorious, they were thenceforth to go quickly, but if they should learn that any adversity had befallen them, they were to proceed no farther, but remain where they were. So they proceeded to carry out the commands of Theoderic, but meanwhile the

- 29 κατὰ μόνας Βουργουζίωσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. μά-  
 χης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης φόινος μὲν ἑκατέρων  
 πολὺς γίνεται· ἦν γὰρ ἀγχώματος ἐπὶ πλείστον  
 30 ἡ ξυμβολή· ἔπειτα δὲ Φράγγοι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα χώρας ἧς τότε ὦκουν  
 ἐξήλασαν, ἔνθα σφίσι πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα ἦν,  
 31 αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ξύμπασαν ἔσχον. ἅπερ  
 Γότθοι ἀκούσαντες κατὰ τάχος παρήσαν. κακι-  
 ζόμενοί τε πρὸς τῶν ξυμμάχων τὸ τῆς χώρας  
 δύσοδον ἠτιῶντο, καὶ τὴν ποινὴν καταθέμενοι τὴν  
 χώραν, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο, ξὺν τοῖς νενικηκόσιν  
 32 ἐνείμαντο. οὕτω τε Θευδερίχου ἡ πρόνοια ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον ἐγνώσθη, ὅς γε οὐδένα τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀπο-  
 βαλὼν ὀλίγῳ χρυσῷ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐκτήσατο χώραν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Γότθοι  
 τε καὶ Γερμανοὶ μοῖραν τινα Γαλλίας ἔσχον.  
 33 Μετὰ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τῆς δυνάμεως σφίσιν ἐπί-  
 προσθεν ἰούσης ἐν ὀλιγοῖα ποιησάμενοι Θευδέ-  
 ριχόν τε καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος ἐπὶ τε Ἀλάριχον  
 34 καὶ Οὐισιγότθους ἐστράτευσαν. ἃ δὲ Ἀλάριχος  
 μαθὼν Θευδερίχον ὅτι τάχιστα μετεπέμπετο. καὶ  
 35 ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἦει. ἐν  
 τούτῳ δὲ Οὐισίγοτθοι, ἐπεὶ Γερμανοὺς ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup> πό-  
 λιν Καρκασιανὴν στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπύθοντο, ὑπηνι-  
 τιάζον τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι ἠρέμουν.<sup>2</sup>  
 36 χρόνου δὲ σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ τριβο-  
 μένου συχνοῦ ἥσχαλλόν τε καί, ἅτε τῆς χώρας

<sup>1</sup> ἀμφὶ V: ἐπὶ L.

<sup>2</sup> ἠρέμουν V: ἔμενον L.

Germans joined battle alone with the Burgundians. 531 A.D. The battle was stubbornly contested and a great slaughter took place on both sides, for the struggle was very evenly matched; but finally the Franks routed their enemy and drove them to the borders of the land which they inhabited at that time, where they had many strongholds, while the Franks took possession of all the rest. And the Goths, upon hearing this, were quickly at hand. And when they were bitterly reproached by their allies, they blamed the difficulty of the country, and laying down the amount of the penalty, they divided the land with the victors according to the agreement made. And thus the foresight of Theoderic was revealed more clearly than ever, because, without losing a single one of his subjects, he had with a little gold acquired half of the land of his enemy. Thus it was that the Goths and Germans in the beginning got possession of a certain part of Gaul.

But later on, when the power of the Germans was growing greater, they began to think slightly of Theoderic and the fear he inspired, and took the field against Alaric and the Visigoths. And when Alaric learned this, he summoned Theoderic as quickly as possible. And he set out to his assistance with a great army. In the meantime, the Visigoths, upon learning that the Germans were in camp near the city of Carcasiana,<sup>1</sup> went to meet them, and making a camp remained quiet. But since much time was being spent by them in blocking the enemy in this way, they began to be vexed, and seeing that their land

<sup>1</sup> In Gallia Narbonensis, modern Carcassone. Procopius has been misled. The battle here described was fought in the neighbourhood of Poitiers.



πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ληιζομένης, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο.  
 37 καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐς Ἀλάριχον πολλὰ ὕβριζον,  
 αὐτόν τε διὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων δέος κακίζοντες καὶ  
 38 τοῦ κηδεστοῦ τὴν μέλλησιν ὀνειδίζοντες. ἀξιό-  
 μαχοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι καὶ ῥᾶον κατὰ  
 39 μόνας περιέσεσθαι Γερμανῶν τῷ πολέμῳ. διὸ δὴ  
 καὶ Γότθων σφίσιν οὐπω παρόντων Ἀλάριχος  
 40 ἠνάγκαστο τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ μάχης ἵεναι. καθυ-  
 πέρτεροι δὲ Γερμανοὶ ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ταύτῃ γενό-  
 μενοι τῶν τε Οὐισιγότθων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ  
 41 Ἀλάριχον τὸν ἄρχοντα κτείνουσι. καὶ Γαλλίας  
 μὲν καταλαβόντες τὰ πολλὰ ἔσχον, Καρκασιανὴν  
 δὲ πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐπολιόρκουν, ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν  
 πλοῦτον ἐνταῦθα ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, ὃν δὴ ἐν τοῖς  
 ἄνω χρόνοις Ἀλάριχος ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ῥώμην  
 42 ἐλὼν ἐλήισατο. ἐν τοῖς ἦν καὶ τὰ Σολόμωνος τοῦ  
 Ἑβραίων βασιλέως κειμήλια, ἀξιοθέατα ἐς ἄγαν  
 ὄντα. πρᾶσία γὰρ λίθος αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκαλ-  
 λώπιζεν, ἅπερ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ  
 43 παλαιὸν εἶλον. Οὐισιγότθων δὲ οἱ περιόντες  
 Γισέλιχον, νόθον Ἀλαρίχου υἱόν, ἄρχοντα σφίσιν  
 ἀνεῖπον, Ἀμαλαρίχου τοῦ τῆς<sup>1</sup> Θευδερίχου<sup>2</sup> θυ-  
 44 γατρὸς παιδὸς ἔτι κομιδῇ ὄντος. ἔπειτα δὲ Θευ-  
 δερίχου ξὺν τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἤκοιτος δείσαντες  
 45 Γερμανοὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν. ἐνθεν τε ἀνα-  
 χωρήσαντες Γαλλίας τὰ ἐκτὸς Ῥοδανοῦ<sup>3</sup> ποταμοῦ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ τῆς Krašeniunnikov : τοῦ V, τῆς τοῦ L.

<sup>2</sup> Θευδερίχου Grotius : ἀλαρίχου MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥοδανοῦ V : ἡριδανοῦ L.

was being plundered by the enemy, they became indignant. And at length they began to heap many insults upon Alaric, reviling him on account of his fear of the enemy and taunting him with the delay of his father-in-law. For they declared that they by themselves were a match for the enemy in battle and that even though unaided they would easily overcome the Germans in the war. For this reason Alaric was compelled to do battle with the enemy before the Goths had as yet arrived. And the Germans, gaining the upper hand in this engagement, killed the most of the Visigoths and their ruler Alaric. Then they took possession of the greater part of Gaul and held it; and they laid siege to Carcasiana with great enthusiasm, because they had learned that the royal treasure was there, which Alaric the elder in earlier times had taken as booty when he captured Rome.<sup>1</sup> Among these were also the treasures of Solomon, the king of the Hebrews, a most noteworthy sight. For the most of them were adorned with emeralds; and they had been taken from Jerusalem by the Romans in ancient times.<sup>2</sup> Then the survivors of the Visigoths declared Giselie, an illegitimate son of Alaric, ruler over them, Amalaric, the son of Theoderic's daughter, being still a very young child. And afterwards, when Theoderic had come with the army of the Goths, the Germans became afraid and broke up the siege. So they retired from there and took possession of the part of Gaul beyond the Rhone River as far as the

507 A. D.

410 A. D.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book III. ii. 14-24.

<sup>2</sup> At the capture of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A. D. The treasures here mentioned were removed from Rome in 410 A. D. The remainder of the Jewish treasure formed part of the spoil of Gizeric, the Vandal. Cf. Book IV. ix. 5 and note.

- ἐς ὠκεανὸν τετραμμένα ἔσχον. ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἐξε-  
 λάσαι Θευδέριχος οὐχ οἷός τε ὦν ταῦτα μὲν σφᾶς  
 ξυνεχώρει ἔχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Γαλλίας τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνε-  
 46 σῶσατο. Γισελίχου τε ἐκποδὼν γενομένου ἐς τὸν  
 θυγατρίδου Ἀμαλάριχον τὴν Οὐισιγόθων ἀρχὴν  
 ἠνεγκεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς ἐπετρόπευε παιδὸς ἔτι ὄντος.  
 47 χρήματά τε λαβὼν ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἐν πόλει Καρ-  
 κασιανῇ ἔκειτο ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἀπή-  
 λαυεν, ἄρχοντάς τε αἰεὶ καὶ στρατιὰν Θευδέριχος  
 ἐς τε Γαλλίαν καὶ Ἰσπανίαν πέμπων αὐτὸς εἶχε  
 τῷ ἔργῳ<sup>1</sup> τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος προνοήσας τε ὅπως  
 βέβαιον αὐτὸ ἐς αἰεὶ ἔξει φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν  
 48 οἱ αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν τοὺς ταύτῃ ἄρχοντας. δεχό-  
 μενός τε αὐτὴν ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν  
 φιλοχρημάτως ἔχειν, τῷ Γότθων τε καὶ Οὐισιγότ-  
 49 θων στρατῷ δῶρον ἐπέτειον ἔπεμπε. καὶ ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι προΐοντος τοῦ  
 χρόνου ἅτε ἀρχόμενοί τε πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς καὶ  
 χώραν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες παῖδας τοὺς σφετέρους  
 ἀλλήλοις ἐγγυῶντες ἐς ξυγγένειαν ἐπεμίγνυντο.  
 50 Μετὰ δὲ Θεῦδιδι, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ὅνπερ Θευδέριχος  
 τῷ στρατῷ ἄρχοντα ἔπεμψε, γυναῖκα ἐξ Ἰσπα-  
 νίας γαμετὴν ἐποιήσατο, οὗ γένους μέντοι Οὐι-  
 σιγόθων, ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκίας τῶν τινος ἐπιχωρίων  
 εὐδαίμονος, ἅλλα τε περιβεβλημένην μεγάλα  
 χρήματα καὶ χώρας πολλῆς ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ<sup>2</sup> κυρίαν  
 51 οὔσαν. ὅθεν στρατιώτας ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους ἀγείρας  
 δορυφόρων τε περιβαλλόμενος δυναμιν, Γότθων  
 μὲν Θευδερίχου δόντος τῷ λόγῳ ἦρχεν, ἔργῳ δὲ  
 52 τύραννος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν. δείσας δὲ Θευδέριχος

<sup>1</sup> εἶχε τῷ ἔργῳ Haurv : εἶχετο ἔργῳ V, εἶχετο ἔργῳ L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν ἰσπανία V : ἀνὰ τὴν ἰσπανίαν L.

ocean. And Theoderic, being unable to drive them out from there, allowed them to hold this territory, but he himself recovered the rest of Gaul. Then, after Giselic had been put out of the way, he conferred the rule of the Visigoths upon his grandson Amalaric, for whom, since he was still a child, he himself acted as regent. And taking all the money which lay in the city of Carcasiana, he marched quickly back to Ravenna; furthermore, he continued to send commanders and armies into Gaul and Spain, thus holding the real power of the government himself, and by way of providing that he should hold it securely and permanently, he ordained that the rulers of those countries should bring tribute to him. And though he received this every year, in order not to give the appearance of being greedy for money he sent it as an annual gift to the army of the Goths and Visigoths. And as a result of this, the Goths and Visigoths, as time went on, ruled as they were by one man and holding the same land, betrothed their children to one another and thus joined the two races in kinship.

But afterwards, Theudis, a Goth, whom Theoderic had sent as commander of the army, took to wife a woman from Spain; she was not, however, of the race of the Visigoths, but belonged to the house of one of the wealthy inhabitants of that land, and not only possessed great wealth but also owned a large estate in Spain. From this estate he gathered about two thousand soldiers and surrounded himself with a force of bodyguards, and while in name he was a ruler over the Goths by the gift of Theoderic, he was in fact an out and out tyrant. And Theoderic, who was

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἄτε ξυνέσεως ἐς ἄκρον καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἦκων, μή οἱ  
 πόλεμον πρὸς δούλον τὸν αὐτοῦ διαφέροντι οἱ  
 Φράγγοι,<sup>1</sup> ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπαντήσουσιν ἢ καὶ τι  
 νεωτερον Θυσιγότθοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐράσουσιν, οὔτε  
 παρέλυσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς Θεῦδι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ  
 53 ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἀεὶ ἐς πόλεμον ἰόντι ἐκέλευεν. γράφειν  
 μέντοι αὐτῷ Γότθων τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπήγγειλεν ὡς  
 δίκαιά τε ποιοίη καὶ ξυνέσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄξια, ἢ  
 54 Θευδέριχον ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦκων ἀσπάζοιτο. Θεῦδις  
 δὲ ἃ μὲν Θευδέριχος ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντα ἐπετέλει,  
 καὶ φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον οὔποτε ἀποφέρων<sup>2</sup> ἀνίει.  
 ἐς Ῥάβενναν δὲ ἵεναι οὔτε ἤθελεν οὔτε τοῖς γρά-  
 φουσιν ἐπηγγέλλετο.

### XIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θευδέριχος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο,  
 Φράγγοι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἔτι ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπὶ  
 Θορίγγους ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ Ἑρμενεφρίδον τε τὸν  
 αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα κτείνουσι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας  
 2 ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενοι ἔσχον. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρ-  
 μενεφρίδου γυνὴ ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ λαθοῦσα<sup>3</sup> παρὰ  
 Θευδάτον τὸν ἀδελφόν, Γότθων τηρικαῦτα ἄρ-  
 3 χοντα, ἦλθε. μετὰ δὲ Γερμανοὶ Βουργουζιῶνων  
 τε τοῖς περιοῦσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον καὶ μάχῃ νικῆ-  
 σαντες τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἄρχιν, α ἔς τι τῶν ἐκείνῃ  
 φρουρίων καθεῖρξαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, αὐτοὺς  
 δὲ κατηκόους ποιησάμενοι ξυστρατεύειν τὸ λοι-

<sup>1</sup> οἱ φρ. V: ἡ φρ. L.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποφέρων V: om. L.

<sup>3</sup> λαθοῦσα V: φυγοῦσα L.

wise and experienced in the highest degree, was afraid to carry on a war against his own slave, lest the Franks meanwhile should take the field against him, as they naturally would, or the Visigoths on their part should begin a revolution against him; accordingly he did not remove Theudis from his office, but even continued to command him, whenever the army went to war, to lead it forth. However, he directed the first men of the Goths to write to Theudis that he would be acting justly and in a manner worthy of his wisdom, if he should come to Ravenna and salute Theoderic. Theudis, however, although he carried out all the commands of Theoderic and never failed to send in the annual tribute, would not consent to go to Ravenna, nor would he promise those who had written to him that he would do so.

## XIII

AFTER Theoderic had departed from the world, the 526 A.D. Franks, now that there was no longer anyone to oppose them, took the field against the Thuringians, and not only killed their leader Hermenefridus but also reduced to subjection the entire people. But the wife of Hermenefridus took her children and secretly made her escape, coming to Theodatus, her brother, who was at that time ruling over the Goths. After this the Germans made an attack upon the Burgundians who had survived the former war,<sup>1</sup> and defeating them in battle confined their leader in one of the fortresses of the country and kept him under guard, while they reduced the people to subjection

<sup>1</sup> Cf. chap. xii. 24 ff.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πὸν σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἅτε δορυαλώτους  
 ἠνάγκαζον, καὶ τὴν χώραν ξύμπασαν ἦν Βουρ-  
 γουζῖωνες τὰ πρότερα ὥκουν, ὑποχειρίαν ἐς  
 4 ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου ἐκτέησαντο. Ἀμαλάριχος τε,  
 ὃς ἦρχεν Οὐισιγόθων, ἐπεὶ ἐς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν  
 ἦλθε, δύναμιν τὴν Γερμανῶν κατορρωδήσας τὴν  
 Θευδιβέρτου ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντος ἐν  
 γαμετῆς ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ, καὶ Γαλλίαν πρὸς τε  
 Γότθους καὶ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Ἀταλάριχον ἐνείματο.  
 5 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς Ῥοδανοῦ<sup>1</sup> ποταμοῦ Γότθοι  
 ἔλαχον, τὰ δὲ τούτου ἐκτὸς ἐς τὸ Οὐισιγόθων  
 6 περιέστη κράτος. ξυνέκειτο δὲ φόρον ὃν Θευδέ-  
 ριχος<sup>2</sup> ἔταξε μηκέτι ἐς Γότθους κομίζεσθαι, καὶ  
 χρήματα ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐκ Καρκασιανῆς πόλεως  
 λαβὼν ἔτυχεν, Ἀταλάριχος Ἀμαλάριχῳ ὀρθῶς  
 7 καὶ δικαίως ἀπέδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ἔθνη  
 ταῦτα ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἀλλήλοις ξυνελθόντα ἔτυχε,  
 τὴν αἵρεσιν ἔδοσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ, τὴν ἐγγύνῃ  
 ἐς θάτερον ἔθνος πεποιημένῳ, πότερον γυναικὶ  
 ἔπεσθαι βούλοιτο, ἢ ἐκείνῃ ἐς γένος τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 8 ἄγεσθαι. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰς γυναικῆς  
 ὅπῃ ἐβούλοντο ἄγοντες καὶ οἱ πρὸς γυναικῶν τῶν  
 9 σφετέρων ἀγόμενοι. ὕστερον δὲ Ἀμαλάριχος,  
 προσκεκρουκῶς τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ, κακὸν  
 10 μέγα ἔλαβε. δόξης γὰρ ὀρθῆς τὴν γυναικὰ οὔσαν,  
 αἵρεσιν αὐτὸς τὴν Ἀρείου ἔχων, οὐκ εἶα νομίμοις  
 τοῖς εἰωθόσι χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ  
 πάτρια τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐξοσιοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 προσχωρεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἡθεσιν οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἐν  
 πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ εἶχειν. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἦν ἢ  
 γυνὴ φέρειν, ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐξήνεγκεν ἅπαντα.

<sup>1</sup> Ῥοδανοῦ V: τοῦ ἡριδανοῦ L.      <sup>2</sup> Θευδέριχος L.: Θευδάτος V.

and compelled them, as prisoners of war, to march with them from that time forth against their enemies, and the whole land which the Burgundians had previously inhabited they made subject and tributary to themselves. And Amalaric, who was ruling over the Visigoths, upon coming to man's estate, became thoroughly frightened at the power of the Germans and so took to wife the sister of Theudibert, ruler of the Germans, and divided Gaul with the Goths and his cousin Atalaric. The Goths, namely, received as their portion the land to the east of the Rhone River, while that to the west fell under the control of the Visigoths. And it was agreed that the tribute which Theoderic had imposed should no longer be paid to the Goths, and Atalaric honestly and justly restored to Amalaric all the money which he had taken from the city of Carcasiana. Then, since these two nations had united with one another by intermarriage, they allowed each man who had espoused a wife of the other people to choose whether he wished to follow his wife, or bring her among his own people. And there were many who led their wives to the people they preferred and many also who were led by their wives. But later on Amalaric, having given offence to his wife's brother, suffered a great calamity. For while his wife was of the orthodox faith, he himself followed the heresy of Arius, and he would not allow her to hold to her customary beliefs or to perform the rites of religion according to the tradition of her father, and, furthermore, because she was unwilling to conform to his customs, he held her in great dishonour. And since the woman was unable to bear this, she disclosed the whole matter to her brother. For this

- 11 διὸ δὴ ἐς πόλεμον Γερμανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι  
πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέστησαν. καὶ λίαν μὲν ἰσ-  
χυρὰ ἐγεγόνει ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡ μάχη, τέλος δὲ  
ἡσηθηεὶς Ἀμαλάρικος τῶν τε οἰκείων πολλοὺς  
12 ἀποβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει. Θεудίβερτος δὲ  
τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν ξὺν πᾶσι χρήμασιν ἔλαβε καὶ  
Γαλλίας ὅποσον Οὐισίγοτθοι λαχόντες εἶχον.  
13 τῶν δὲ ἡσησημένων οἱ περιόντες ἐκ Γαλλίας ξὺν  
γυναιξί τε καὶ παισὶν ἀναστάντες παρὰ Θεῦδιν  
ἐς Ἰσπανίαν ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τυραννοῦντα  
ἐχώρησαν. οὕτω μὲν Γότθοι τε καὶ Γερμανοὶ  
Γαλλίας ἔσχον.
- 14 Χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ Θευδάτος, ὁ τῶν Γότθων  
ἀρχηγός, ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον εἰς Σικελίαν ἤκειν  
ἐπύθετο, ξυνθήκας πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ποιεῖται, ἐφ'  
ὧ ἔχοντάς<sup>1</sup> τε αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup> τὴν Γότθοις ἐπιβάλλουσαν  
ἐν Γάλλοις μοῖραν καὶ χρυσίου κεντηνάρια λα-  
βόντας εἴκοσι πόλεμον τόνδε σφίσι ξυνάρασθαι.  
15 οὕπῳ τε τὰ ξυγκείμενα<sup>3</sup> ἔργῳ ἐπιτελέσας τὴν  
πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε. διὸ δὴ Γότθων πολλοί  
τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνταῦθα, ὧν Μαρκίας ἡγεῖτο,  
16 φυλακὴν εἶχον. οὓς Οὐίττιγισ ἐνθένδε ἐξαγα-  
στῆσαι οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Φράγγοις  
ἀντιτάξασθαι αὐτοὺς ᾔετο ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι.  
Γαλλίαν τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, καταθέ-  
ουσιν, ἦν αὐτὸς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην  
17 ἐλάσῃ. ξυγκαλέσας οὖν εἴ τι ἐν Γότθοις κα-  
θαρὸν ἦν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

“Οὐχ ἡδεῖαν μὲν, ἄνδρες ξυγγενεῖς, ἀναγκαίαν

<sup>1</sup> ἔχοντάς VW: ἄρχοντάς L.    <sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς VW: αὐτοὺς καὶ L.

<sup>3</sup> οὕπῳ τε τὰ ξυγκείμενα VL: διεπρεσβεύσαντο ὅς ποτε τὰ  
ξυγκείμενα W.

<sup>4</sup> τὴν Haurgy: μοῖραν τὴν MSS.

reason, then, the Germans and Visigoths entered into war with each other. And the battle which took place was for a long time very stoutly contested, but finally Amalaric was defeated, losing many of his men, and was himself slain. And Theudibert took his sister with all the money, and as much of Gaul as the Visigoths held as their portion. And the survivors of the vanquished emigrated from Gaul with their wives and children and went to Theudis in Spain, who was already acting the tyrant openly. Thus did the Goths and Germans gain possession of Gaul. 531 A.D.

But at a later time<sup>1</sup> Theodatus, the ruler of the Goths, upon learning that Belisarius had come to Sicily, made a compact with the Germans, in which it was agreed that the Germans should have that portion of Gaul which fell to the Goths, and should receive twenty centenaria<sup>2</sup> of gold, and that in return they should assist the Goths in this war. But before he had as yet carried out the agreement he fulfilled his destiny. It was for this reason, then, 526 A.D. that many of the noblest of the Goths, with Marcias as their leader, were keeping guard in Gaul. It was these men whom Vittigis was unable to recall from Gaul,<sup>3</sup> and indeed he did not think them numerous enough even to oppose the Franks, who would, in all probability, overrun both Gaul and Italy, if he should march with his whole army against Rome. He therefore called together all who were loyal among the Goths and spoke as follows :

"The advice which I have wished to give you,

<sup>1</sup> Procopius resumes his narrative, which was interrupted by the digression beginning in chap. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Book I. xxii. 4 ; III. vi. 2 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. chap. xi. 28.

- δὲ ὑμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ἐνθάδε  
 ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι συνήγαγον· ὅπως δὲ ἀκού-  
 σησθε μὲν πράως, βουλευσῆσθε δὲ τῶν παρόντων  
 18 ἡμῖν ἐπαξίως. οἷς γὰρ αἱ πράξεις οὐ κατὰ νοῦν  
 χωροῦσι, τὸ μὴ πειθομένους τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἢ τύχῃ  
 οὕτω τὰ παρόντα διοικεῖσθαι ἀξίμφορον. τὰ  
 μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἡμῖν ὡς ἄριστα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον  
 19 παρασκευῆς<sup>1</sup> ἔχει. Φράγγοι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν  
 ἴστανται, οἷς ἐκ παλαιοῦ πολεμίοις οὖσι, τοῖς τε  
 σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι δαπανώμενοι, ἀντέχειν  
 ἐς τόδε ὅμως ἰσχύσαμεν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἡμῖν  
 20 ἀπὴντα πολέμιον. ἐφ' ἐτέρους δὲ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀναγ-  
 καζομένους ἵεναι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον κατα-  
 λύειν δεήσει, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι, ἦν δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν  
 διαμείνωσι, μετὰ Βελισαρίου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τετάξονται  
 21 πάντως. τοὺς γὰρ ἐχθρὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχοντας  
 ἀλλήλοις ἐς εὐνοίαν τε καὶ ξυμμαχίαν συνάπτε-  
 22 σθαι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσηγεῖται φύσις. ἔπειτα,  
 ἦν καὶ πρὸς ἐκάτερον στρατόπεδον χωρὶς τὸν πό-  
 λεμον διενέγκωμεν, λελείψεται ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέρων  
 23 ἡσσήσθαι. ἄμεινον οὖν ὀλίγω ἡμᾶς ἐλασσουμέ-  
 νους τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀρχῆς διασώσασθαι, ἢ  
 πάντα<sup>2</sup> ἔχειν ἐφιεμένους ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ τῆς ἡγε-  
 μονίας δυνάμει πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολωλέναι.  
 24 οἶμαι τοίνυν ὡς, ἦν Γαλλίας τὰς σφίσιν ὁμόρους  
 Γερμανοῖς δῶμεν, καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ξὺν τῇ χώρᾳ  
 ταύτῃ Θεωδάτος αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγησε δώσειν, οὐχ  
 ὅσον ἀποτρέφονται τὸ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 25 πόλεμον ἡμῖν ξυλλήψονται τότε. ὅπως δὲ αἰθίς,

<sup>1</sup> τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς V: τὴν πολέμου παρασκευὴν L.

<sup>2</sup> πάντα V: πάντως L.

fellow-countrymen, in bringing you together here at the present time, is not pleasant, but it is necessary; and do you hear me kindly, and deliberate in a manner befitting the situation which is upon us. For when affairs do not go as men wish, it is inexpedient for them to go on with their present arrangements in disregard of necessity or fortune. Now in all other respects our preparations for war are in the best possible state. But the Franks are an obstacle to us; against them, our ancient enemies, we have indeed been spending both our lives and our money, but nevertheless we have succeeded in holding our own up to the present time, since no other hostile force has confronted us. But now that we are compelled to go against another foe, it will be necessary to put an end to the war against them, in the first place because, if they remain hostile to us, they will certainly array themselves with Belisarius against us; for those who have the same enemy are by the very nature of things induced to enter into friendship and alliance with each other. In the second place, even if we carry on the war separately against each army, we shall in the end be defeated by both of them. It is better, therefore, for us to accept a little loss and thus preserve the greatest part of our kingdom, than in our eagerness to hold everything to be destroyed by the enemy and lose at the same time the whole power of our supremacy. So my opinion is that if we give the Germans the provinces of Gaul which adjoin them, and together with this land all the money which Theodatus agreed to give them, they will not only be turned from their enmity against us, but will even lend us assistance in this war. But as to how at a later time, when matters



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- εὖ φερομένων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν, Γαλλίας ἀνακτησώμεθα, ὑμῶν διαλογιζέσθω μηδεῖς. ἐμὲ γάρ τις παλαιὸς εἰσέρχεται λόγος, τὸ παρὸν εὖ τιθέναι κελεύων.”
- 26 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Γότθων λόγιμοι, ξύμφορά τε οἴομενοι αὐτὰ εἶναι, ὑποτελῆ γενέσθαι ἤθελον. στέλλονται τοίνυν πρέσβεις αὐτίκα εἰς τὸ Γερμανῶν ἔθνος, ἐφ’ ᾧ Γαλλίας τε αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῇ χρυσῇ δώσουσι καὶ ὁμαιχμίαν ποιήσονται.
- 27 Φράγγων δὲ τότε ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν Ἰλδίβερτός τε καὶ Θευδίβερτος καὶ Κλοαδάριος, οἱ Γαλλίας τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραλαμβάνοντες διενείμαντο μὲν κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἐκάστου ἀρχῆς, φίλοι δὲ ὡμολόγησαν Γότθοις εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ λάθρα αὐτοῖς ἐπικούρους πέμψειν, οὐ Φράγγους μέντοι.
- 28 ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν σφίσι κατηκόων ἐθνῶν. ὁμαιχμίαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων κακῷ ποιήσασθαι οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ ὀλίγη πρότερον βασιλεῖ εἰς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ξυλλήψεσθαι ὡμολόγησαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐφ’ οἷσπερ ἐστάλησαν διαπεπραγμένοι ἐπαινῆκαν εἰς Ῥάβενναν. τότε δὲ καὶ Μαρκίαν σὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Οὐίττιγισ μετεπέμπετο.

### XIV

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα Οὐίττιγισ ἔπρασεν, ἐν τούτῳ Βελισάριος εἰς Ῥώμην ἵνατι παρεσκευάζετο. ἀπολέξας οὖν ἄνδρας ἐκ καταλόγου πεζικοῦ τριακοσίου καὶ Ἡρωδιατὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῇ Νεαπό-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς W: αὐτοὺς VL, αὐτοὶ Maltretus.

are going well for us, we may regain possession of Gaul, let no one of you consider this question. For an ancient saying<sup>1</sup> comes to my mind, which bids us 'settle well the affairs of the present.'"

Upon hearing this speech the notables of the Goths, considering the plan advantageous, wished it to be put into effect. Accordingly envoys were immediately sent to the nation of the Germans, in order to give them the lands of Gaul together with the gold, and to make an offensive and defensive alliance. Now at that time the rulers of the Franks were Ildibert, Theudibert, and Cloadarius, and they received Gaul and the money, and divided the land among them according to the territory ruled by each one, and they agreed to be exceedingly friendly to the Goths, and secretly to send them auxiliary troops, not Franks, however, but soldiers drawn from the nations subject to them. For they were unable to make an alliance with them openly against the Romans, because they had a little before agreed to assist the emperor in this war. So the envoys, having accomplished the mission on which they had been sent, returned to Ravenna. At that time also Vittigis summoned Marcias with his followers.

## XIV

BUT while Vittigis was carrying on these negotiations, Belisarius was preparing to go to Rome. He accordingly selected three hundred men from the infantry forces with Herodian as their leader, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thuc. i. 35, *οἰσθαὶ τὸ παρόν*, "to deal with the actual situation"; Hor. *Od.* iii. 29, 32, "quod adest memento | Componere."

- 2 λεως φυλακῇ κατεστήσατο. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς  
Κύμην φρουρούς, ὅσους ᾔετο τῇ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα  
φρουρίου φυλακῇ ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἄλλο γάρ τι  
ὀχύρωμα ἐν Καμπανίᾳ, ὅτι μὴ ἐν Κύμῃ τε καὶ ἐν  
3 Νεαπόλει, οὐκ ἦν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Κύμῃ οἱ ἐπι-  
χώριοι τὸ Σιβύλλης δεικνύουσι σπήλαιον ἐνθα δὴ  
αὐτῆς τὸ μαντεῖον γεγενῆσθαι φασιν· ἐπιθαλασ-  
σία δὲ ἡ Κύμη ἐστί, Νεαπόλεως ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι  
4 καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους διέχουσα. Βελισάριος μὲν  
οὖν διεκόσμη τὸ στράτευμα, Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, δει-  
σαντες μὴ σφίσι ξυμβαίῃ ὅσα Νεαπολίταις  
ξυμπέπτωκε, λογισάμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἄμεινον εἶναι  
τῇ πόλει τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν δέξασθαι. μά-  
λιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς Σιλβέριος<sup>1</sup> ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγεν, ὃ  
5 τῆς<sup>2</sup> πόλεως ἀρχιερέως. Φιδέλιόν τε πέμψαντες,  
ἄνδρα ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ὀρμώμενον, ἡ ἐν Λιγούροις  
κεῖται, ὃς δὴ Ἀταλαρίχῳ παρήδρευε πρότερον  
(κοιαίστωρα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥω-  
μαῖοι), Βελισάριον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκάλουν, ἀμαχητὶ  
6 τὴν πόλιν παραδώσειν ὑποσχόμενοι. ὃ δὲ διὰ  
τῆς Λατίνης ὁδοῦ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν  
Ἀππίαν ὁδὸν ἀφείς ἐν ἀριστερῇ, ἣν Ἀππίος ὁ  
Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτος ἐννακοσίοις ἐναντοῖς πρότερον  
ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἔσχεν.

Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Ἀππία ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν πέντε εὐζώνῳ  
ἀνδρί· ἐκ Ῥώμης γὰρ αὕτη<sup>3</sup> ἐς Καπύην διήκει.  
7 εὖρος δὲ ἐστί τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ὅσον ἀμάξας δύο

<sup>1</sup> Σιλβέριος Maltretus : βελισάριος V, λιβέριος L.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς V : τῆσδε τῆς L.

<sup>3</sup> αὕτη L : αὐτῆς V.

assigned them the duty of guarding Naples. And he also sent to Cumae as large a garrison as he thought would be sufficient to guard the fortress there. For there was no stronghold in Campania except those at Cumae and at Naples. It is in this city of Cumae that the inhabitants point out the cave of the Sibyl, where they say her oracular shrine was; and Cumae is on the sea, one hundred and twenty-eight stades distant from Naples. Belisarius, then, was thus engaged in putting his army in order; but the inhabitants of Rome, fearing lest all the calamities should befall them which had befallen the Neapolitans, decided after considering the matter that it was better to receive the emperor's army into the city. And more than any other Silverius,<sup>1</sup> the chief priest of the city, urged them to adopt this course. So they sent Fidelius, a native of Milan, which is situated in Liguria, a man who had been previously an adviser of Atalaric (such an official is called "quaestor"<sup>2</sup> by the Romans), and invited Belisarius to come to Rome, promising to put the city into his hands without a battle. So Belisarius led his army from Naples by the Latin Way, leaving on the left the Appian Way, which Appius, the consul of the Romans, had made nine hundred years before<sup>3</sup> and to which he had given his name.

Now the Appian Way is in length a journey of five days for an unencumbered traveller; for it extends from Rome to Capua. And the breadth of this road is such that two waggons going in opposite directions

<sup>1</sup> Cf. chap. xi. 26, note.

<sup>2</sup> The quaestor held an important position as counsellor (*πρόεδρος*) of the emperor in legal matters. It was his function, also, to formulate and publish new laws.

<sup>3</sup> Built in 312 B.C. by the censor, Appius Claudius.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀντίας ἰέναι ἀλλήλαις, καὶ ἔστιν ἄξιοθέατο,  
 8 πάντων μάλιστα. τὸν γὰρ λίθον ἄπαιτα, μυλί-  
 την τε ὄντα καὶ φύσει σκληρόν, ἐκ χώρας ἄλλης  
 μακρὰν οὐσης τεμὼν Ἀππίος ἐνταῦθα ἐκόμισε.  
 9 ταύτης γὰρ δὴ τῆς γῆς οὐδαμῇ πέφυκε. λείους  
 δὲ τοὺς λίθους καὶ ὁμαλοὺς ἐργασάμενος, ἐγγω-  
 νίους τε τῇ ἐντομῇ πεποιημένος, ἐς ἀλλήλους  
 ξυνέδησεν, οὔτε χάλिका<sup>1</sup> ἐντὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο  
 10 ἐμβεβλημένος. οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλοις οὕτω τε ἀσφαλῶς  
 συνδέδενται καὶ μεμύκασιν, ὥστε ὅτι δὴ οὐκ εἰσὶν  
 ἡρμοσμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐμπεφύκασιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐδόξαν  
 11 τοῖς ὁρώσι παρέχονται· καὶ χρόνου τριβέντος  
 συχνοῦ δὴ οὕτως ἀμάξαις τε πολλαῖς καὶ ζώοις  
 ἅπασι διαβατοὶ γινόμενοι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην οὔτε  
 τῆς ἁρμονίας παντάπασι διακέκρινται οὔτε τινὶ  
 αὐτῶν διαφθαρῆναι ἢ μείονι γίνεσθαι ξυνέπεσεν.  
 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀμαρυγῆς τι ἀποβαλέσθαι. τὰ  
 μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ τοιαῦτά ἐστι.  
 12 Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακὴν εἶχον, ἐπεὶ  
 τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἀγχιστά πη εἶναι ἐπύθοντο  
 καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γνώμης ἦσθοντο, ἥσχαλλεν  
 τότε τῇ πόλει<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διὰ μάχης ἰέναι  
 13 οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ἠπόρουν·<sup>3</sup> ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαίων  
 σφίσιν ἐνδιδόντων ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ  
 Ῥαβέννης ἐχώρησαν ἅπαντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι  
 Λεύδερικς ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, αἰδεσθεὶς, οἶμαι, τύχην  
 14 τὴν παρούσαν, αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. ξυνέπεσέ τε ἐκείνη  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Βελισάριον μὲν

<sup>1</sup> χάλिका Braun: χαλκὰ V, χαλκὸν L.

<sup>2</sup> τότε τῇ πόλει V: τήν τε πόλιν φυλάσσειν L.

<sup>3</sup> ἠπόρουν V: om. L.

can pass one another, and it is one of the noteworthy sights of the world. For all the stone, which is mill-stone<sup>1</sup> and hard by nature, Appius quarried in another place<sup>2</sup> far away and brought there; for it is not found anywhere in this district. And after working these stones until they were smooth and flat, and cutting them to a polygonal shape, he fastened them together without putting concrete or anything else between them. And they were fastened together so securely and the joints were so firmly closed, that they give the appearance, when one looks at them, not of being fitted together, but of having grown together. And after the passage of so long a time, and after being traversed by many waggons and all kinds of animals every day, they have neither separated at all at the joints, nor has any one of the stones been worn out or reduced in thickness,—nay, they have not even lost any of their polish. Such, then, is the Appian Way.

But as for the Goths who were keeping guard in Rome, it was not until they learned that the enemy were very near and became aware of the decision of the Romans, that they began to be concerned for the city, and, being unable to meet the attacking army in battle, they were at a loss; but later, with the permission of the Romans, they all departed thence and proceeded to Ravenna, except that Leuderis, who commanded them, being ashamed, I suppose, because of the situation in which he found himself, remained there. And it so happened on that day that at the very same time when Belisarius and the emperor's

<sup>1</sup> Chiefly basalt. As built by Appius, however, the surface was of gravel; the stone blocks date from later years.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently an error, for lava quarries have been found along the road.




## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- καὶ τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσιέναι  
 διὰ πύλης ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἀσιναρίαν, Γότθους δὲ  
 ἀναχωρεῖν ἐνθένδε διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας ἢ Φλαμινία  
 ἐπικαλεῖται, Ῥώμη τε αὖθις ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσιν  
 ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γέγονεν, ἐνάτῃ τοῦ τε-  
 λευταίου, πρὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων προσαγορευομένου  
 Δεκεμβρίου<sup>1</sup> μηνὸς ἐνδέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ  
 15 βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. Λεύ-  
 δερην μὲν οὖν τὸν Γότθων ἄρχοντα καὶ τῶν πυλῶν  
 τὰς κλεῖς Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς  
 δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου πολλαχῇ διερρυηκόςτος ἐπε-  
 μελεῖτο· ἔπαλξιν δὲ ἐκάστην ἐγγώνιον ἐποίει,  
 οἰκοδομίαν δὴ τινα ἐτέραν ἐκ πλαγίου τοῦ εὐωνύ-  
 μου τιθέμενος, ὅπως οἱ ἐνθένδε τοῖς ἐπιούσι  
 μαχόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐν<sup>2</sup> ἀριστερᾷ σφίσι τειχο-  
 μαχοῦντων ἥκιστα βάλλωνται, καὶ τάφρον ἀμφὶ  
 τὸ τεῖχος βαθεῖάν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ  
 16 ὤρυσσε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως τὴν ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις  
 ἀποδεδειγμένην ἐμπειρίαν ἐπῆνουν, ἐν θαύματι  
 δὲ μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι ἥσχαλλον, εἴ τινα ὥς  
 πολιορκηθήσεται ἔννοιαν ἔχων ῥήθη ἐσιτητά οἱ  
 ἐς Ῥώμην εἶναι, ἢ οὔτε πολιορκίαν οἷα τέ ἐστι  
 φέρειν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι, καὶ τεῖχους<sup>3</sup> περιβαλλομένην  
 τοσοῦτόν τι χρῆμα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ  
 κειμένη ἐς ἄγαν ὑπτίῳ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εὐέφοδος.

<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαίοις (Ῥωμαίους Eusebrius) . . . Δεκεμβρίου added from Eusebrius iv. 19: not in MSS.    <sup>2</sup> ἐν Maltretus: om. MSS.

<sup>3</sup> τεῖχους Krašeninnikov: τεῖχος V, τεῖχη L.

army were entering Rome through the gate which they call the Asinarian Gate, the Goths were withdrawing from the city through another gate which bears the name Flaminian; and Rome became subject to the Romans again after a space of sixty years, on the ninth day of the last month, which is called "December" by the Romans, in the eleventh year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. Now Belisarius 536 A.D. sent Leuderis, the commander of the Goths, and the keys of the gates to the emperor, but he himself turned his attention to the circuit-wall, which had fallen into ruin in many places; and he constructed each merlon of the battlement with a wing, adding a sort of flanking wall on the left side,<sup>1</sup> in order that those fighting from the battlement against their assailants might never be hit by missiles thrown by those storming the wall on their left; and he also dug a moat about the wall of sufficient depth to form a very important part of the defences. And the Romans applauded the forethought of the general and especially the experience displayed in the matter of the battlement; but they marvelled greatly and were vexed that he should have thought it possible for him to enter Rome if he had any idea that he would be besieged, for it cannot possibly endure a siege because it cannot be supplied with provisions, since it is not on the sea, is enclosed by a wall of so huge a circumference,<sup>2</sup> and, above all, lying as it does in a very level plain, is naturally exceedingly

<sup>1</sup> i.e. on the left of the defender. The battlement, then, in horizontal section, had this form , instead of the usual series of straight merlons. Winged merlons were used on the walls of Pompeii; for an excellent illustration see Overbeck, *Pompeii*<sup>4</sup>, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. too great to be defended at every point: the total length of the circuit-wall was about twelve miles.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 17 ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούων τὰ  
 εἰς πολιορκίαν οὐδέν τι ἡσσον ἅπαντα ἐξηρτύετο,  
 καὶ τὸν σῆτον ὃν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔχων ἐκ Σικελίας  
 ἀφίκετο, ἐν οἰκήμασι καταθέμενος δημοσίοις  
 ἐφύλασσε, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας, καίπερ δεινὰ  
 ποιουμένους, ἡνάγκαζεν ἅπαντα σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτή-  
 δεια ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι.

### XV

- Τότε δὴ καὶ Πίτζας, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ἐκ Σαρμνίου  
 ἦκων, αὐτὸν τε καὶ Γότθους οἱ ἐκείνῃ ξὺν αὐτῷ  
 ᾤκηνητο, καὶ Σαρμνίου τοῦ ἐπιθαλασσίου μοῖραν  
 τὴν ἡμίσειαν Βελισαρίῳ ἐνεχείρισεν, ἄχρι ἐς τὸν  
 2 ποταμὸν ὃς τῆς χώρας μεταξὺ φέρεται. Γότθοι  
 γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ὅσοι ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἴδρυντο, οὔτε  
 τῷ Πίτζᾳ ἔπεσθαι οὔτε βασιλεῖ κατήκοοι εἶναι  
 ἠθέλον. στρατιώτας τέ οἱ Βελισάριος οὐ πολ-  
 λούς ἔδωκεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ξυμφυλάξωσι τὰ ἐκείνῃ  
 3 χωρία. πρότερον δὲ Καλαβροὶ τε καὶ Ἀπούλιοι,  
 Γότθων σφίσι τῇ χώρᾳ οὐ παρόντων, Βελισαρίῳ  
 ἐθελούσιοι προσεχώρησαν οἳ τε παράλιοι καὶ οἱ  
 τὰ μεσόγεια ἔχοντες.  
 4 Ἐν τοῖς καὶ Βενεβεντός ἐστιν, ἣν πάλαι μὲν  
 Μαλεβεντὸν ὠνόμασαν Ῥωμαῖοι, τανῦν δὲ Βενε-  
 βεντὸν καλοῦσι, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου ὀνόματος  
 διαφεύγοντες βλασφημίαν· βέντος γὰρ ἄνεμον  
 5 τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται. ἐν Δαλματία γάρ,

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ V: δὲ L.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably either the Biferno or the Sangro.

<sup>2</sup> sic Procopius. The customary form "Beneventum"

easy of access for its assailants. But although Belisarius heard all these criticisms, he nevertheless continued to make all his preparations for a siege, and the grain which he had in his ships when he came from Sicily he stored in public granaries and kept under guard, and he compelled all the Romans, indignant though they were, to bring all their provisions in from the country.

## XV

AT that time Pitzas, a Goth, coming from Samnium, also put himself and all the Goths who were living there with him into the hands of Belisarius, as well as the half of that part of Samnium which lies on the sea, as far as the river which flows through the middle of that district.<sup>1</sup> For the Goths who were settled on the other side of the river were neither willing to follow Pitzas nor to be subjects of the emperor. And Belisarius gave him a small number of soldiers to help him guard that territory. And before this the Calabrians and Apulians, since no Goths were present in their land, had willingly submitted themselves to Belisarius, both those on the coast and those who held the interior.

Among the interior towns is Beneventus,<sup>2</sup> which in ancient times the Romans had named "Maleventus," but now they call it Beneventus, avoiding the evil omen of the former name,<sup>3</sup> "ventus" having the meaning "wind" in the Latin tongue. For in shows less clearly the derivation from "ventus" which Procopius favours. Other possible explanations are "bene" + "venio" or "bene" + (suff.) "entum."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pliny III. xi. 16, § 105, who says that the name was originally "Maleventum," on account of its unwholesome air.

ἡ ταύτης καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ  
 κεῖται, ἀνέμου τι πνεῦμα σκληρόν τε καὶ ὑπερ-  
 φυνῶς ἄγριον ἐπισκήπτειν φιλεῖ, ὅπερ ἐπειδὰν  
 ἐπιπνεῖν ἄρξῃται, ὁδῶ ἰόντα ἔτι ἀνθρώπων ἐν-  
 ταῦθα εὔρεῖν οὐδεμία μηχανή ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱκοι  
 6 ἅπαντες καθείρξαντες ἑαυτοὺς τηροῦσι. τοιαύτη  
 γάρ τις ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ῥύμη<sup>1</sup> τυγχάνει οὔσα  
 ὥστε ἄνδρα ἱππέα ξὺν τῷ ἵππῳ ἀρπάσασα  
 μετέωρον φέρει, ἐπὶ πλείστον τε περιαγαγοῦσα  
 τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος χώρας εἶτα ὅπῃ παρατύχῃ ἀπορρί-  
 7 πτουσα κτείνει. Βενεβεντὸν δὲ ἅτε καταντικρὺ  
 Δαλματίας οὔσαν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐπὶ τε  
 ὑψηλοῦ τινος χώρου κειμένην μοῖράν τινα φέ-  
 ρεσθαι τῆς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀνέμου δυσκολίας  
 8 συμβαίνει. ταύτην Διομήδης ποτὲ ὁ Τυδέως  
 ἐδείματο, μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους  
 ἀποκρουσθεῖς. καὶ γνώρισμα τῇ πόλει τοὺς  
 ὁδόντας συνὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου ἐλείπετο, οὓς οἱ  
 θεῖος Μελέαγρος ἄθλα τοῦ κυνηγεσίου λαβὼν  
 ἔτυχεν, οἱ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἐνταῦθά εἰσι, θέαμα λό-  
 γου πολλοῦ ἰδεῖν ἄξιον, περίμετρον οὐχ ἦσσαν  
 ἢ τρισπίθαμον ἐν μνηοειδεῖ σχήματι ἔχοντες.  
 9 ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι τὸν Διομήδην Αἰνεΐα  
 τῷ Ἀγχίσου ἤκουσι ἐξ Ἰλίου φασὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸ  
 λόγιον τὸ τῆς Ἀθήνης ἄγαλμα δοῦναι ὃ ξὺν τῷ  
 Ὀδυσσεῖ ἀποσυλήσας ἔτυχεν, ὅτε κατασκόπῳ ἐς  
 τὴν<sup>2</sup> Ἰλιον ἠλθέτην ἄμφω πρότερον ἢ τήνδε<sup>3</sup>  
 10 ἀλώσιμον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. λέγουσι γὰρ  
 αὐτῷ νοσήσαντί τε ὕστερον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου

<sup>1</sup> ῥύμη V: φορὰ L.

<sup>2</sup> τήν Haurv: τὸ MSS., cf. VIII. xxii. 31, ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀλοίσσης.

<sup>3</sup> τήνδε Haurv: τήν π . . . V, τήν τε L.

Dalmatia, which lies across from this city on the opposite mainland, a wind of great violence and exceedingly wild is wont to fall upon the country, and when this begins to blow, it is impossible to find a man there who continues to travel on the road, but all shut themselves up at home and wait. Such, indeed, is the force of the wind that it seizes a man on horseback together with his horse and carries him through the air, and then, after whirling him about in the air to a great distance, it throws him down wherever he may chance to be and kills him. And it so happens that Beneventus, being opposite to Dalmatia, as I have said, and situated on rather high ground, gets some of the disadvantage of this same wind. This city was built of old by Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, when after the capture of Troy he was repulsed from Argos. And he left to the city as a token the tusks of the Calydonian boar, which his uncle Meleager had received as a prize of the hunt, and they are there even up to my time, a noteworthy sight and well worth seeing, measuring not less than three spans around and having the form of a crescent. There, too, they say that Diomedes met Aeneas, the son of Anchises, when he was coming from Ilium, and in obedience to the oracle gave him the statue of Athena which he had seized as plunder in company with Odysseus, when the two went into Troy as spies before the city was captured by the Greeks. For they tell the story that when he fell sick at a later time, and made enquiry



- πυνθανομένῳ χρῆσαι τὸ μαντεῖον οὐ ποτέ οἱ τοῖ  
κακοῦ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔσεσθαι πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἀνδρὶ  
11 Τρωὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο διδοίη. καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν  
ὅπου γῆς ἐστίν, οὐ φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰδέναι, εἰκόνα  
δὲ αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τινὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένην δεικνύουσι<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης ἱερῷ, οὐ δὲ<sup>2</sup> πρὸ τοῦ  
χαλκοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματος κεῖται, ὅπερ  
12 αἶθριον ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑὸ τοῦ νεῷ ἴδρυται. αὕτη δὲ  
ἢ ἐν τῷ λίθῳ εἰκὼν πολεμούσῃ τε καὶ τὸ δόρυ  
ἀνατεινούσῃ ἄτε ἐς ξυμβολὴν ἔοικε· ποδὴρῃ δὲ  
13 καὶ ὡς τὸν χιτῶνα ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐ τοῖς  
Ἑλληνικοῖς ἀγάλμασι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμφερές ἐστίν,  
ἀλλ' οἷα παντάπασιν τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰγύπτιοι  
14 ἐποίουν. Βυζάντιοι δὲ φασὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο  
Κωνσταντῖνον βασιλέα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἢ αὐτοῦ  
ἐπώνυμός ἐστι κατορύξαντα θέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν  
δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν.
- 15 Ἰταλίαν δὲ οὕτω ξύμπασαν ἢ ἐντὸς κόλπου  
τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐστίν, ἄχρι ἔς τε Ῥώμην καὶ Σάμνιον  
Βελισάριος παρεστήσατο, τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐκτὸς  
ἄχρι ἐς Λιβουρνίαν Κωνσταντιανός, ὥσπερ ἐρ-  
16 ρήθη, ἔσχεν. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦσιν  
οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. πέλαγος τὸ  
Ἀδριατικόν, ἐκροήν τινα πόρρω πρὸς τῆς ἡπείρου  
ἐκβάλλον, ποιεῖται τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, οὐδὲν  
ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις ἔνθα δὴ τελευτῶσα  
τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ἐς τὴν ἡπείρου ἀνάβασις ἰσθμὸν

<sup>1</sup> δεικνύουσι Haury: δεικνύουσιν οὗς δὴ MSS., δεικν. δς δὴ Comparetti, Christ, δεικν. ἥτις Hoeschel.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ δὲ: Haury, for οὗς δὴ (above).

<sup>1</sup> The Forum of Constantine was a short distance west of the hippodrome. One of its principal monuments, a huge

concerning the disease, the oracle responded that he would never be freed from his malady unless he should give this statue to a man of Troy. And as to where in the world the statue itself is, the Romans say they do not know, but even up to my time they shew a copy of it chiselled on a certain stone in the temple of Fortune, where it lies before the bronze statue of Athena, which is set up under the open sky in the eastern part of the temple. And this copy on the stone represents a female figure in the pose of a warrior and extending her spear as if for combat; but in spite of this she has a chiton reaching to the feet. But the face does not resemble the Greek statues of Athena, but is altogether like the work of the ancient Egyptians. The Byzantines, however, say that the Emperor Constantine dug up this statue in the forum which bears his name<sup>1</sup> and set it there. So much, then, for this.

In this way Belisarius won over the whole of that part of Italy which is south of the Ionian Gulf,<sup>2</sup> as far as Rome and Samnium, and the territory north of the gulf, as far as Liburnia, had been gained by Constantianus, as has been said.<sup>3</sup> But I shall now explain how Italy is divided among the inhabitants of the land. The Adriatic Sea<sup>4</sup> sends out a kind of outlet far into the continent and thus forms the Ionian Gulf, but it does not, as in other places where the sea enters the mainland, form an isthmus at its end.

porphyry column, still stands and is known as the "Burnt Column."

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the Adriatic Sea; see note 4.      <sup>3</sup> Chap. vii. 36.

<sup>4</sup> By the "Adriatic" is meant the part of the Mediterranean which lies between Africa on the south, Sicily and Italy on the west, and Greece and Epirus on the east; Procopius' "Ionian Gulf" is therefore our Adriatic Sea.

- 17 ποιεῖται. ὁ τε γὰρ Κρισαῖος καλούμενος κόλπος,  
ἀπολήγων ἐς τὸ Λέχαιον, ἵνα δὴ Κορινθίων ἡ  
πόλις ἐστίν, ἐν<sup>1</sup> μέτρῳ τεσσαράκοιτα σταδίων  
18 μάλιστα, ποιεῖται τὸν ταύτης ἰσθμόν· καὶ ὁ ἀφ'  
Ἑλλησπόντου κόλπος, ὃν Μέλανα καλοῦσιν, οὐ  
πλέον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον ἀποτελεῖ τὸν  
19 ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ἰσθμόν. ἐκ δὲ Ῥαβέννης πόλεως,  
οὗ δὴ τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἰόνιος κόλπος, ἐς θάλασσαν  
τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ ὀκτῶ ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν  
20 εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐστίν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι προΐουσα ἡ  
τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ πλείστον  
ἐς αἰὲν φέρεται. τούτου δὲ τοῦ κόλπου ἐντὸς  
πόλισμα πρῶτον ὁ Δρνοῦς οἰκεῖται, ὅπερ τανῦν  
21 Ὑδροῦς καλεῖται. τούτου ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Καλαβροί  
τε καὶ Ἀπούλιοι καὶ Σαμνῖταί εἰσι, καὶ αὐτῶν  
ἐχόμενοι Πικηνοὶ ἄχρι ἐς Ῥάβενναν πόλιν ὥκην-  
22 ται. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Καλαβρῶν τε μοῖρα ἡ  
λειπομένη ἐστὶ καὶ Βρίττιοί τε καὶ Λευκανοί,  
μεθ' οὓς Καμπανοὶ ἄχρι ἐς Ταρακίνην πόλιν  
οἰκοῦσιν, οὓς δὴ οἱ Ῥώμης ὄροι ἐκδέχονται.  
23 ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκατέρας τε θαλάσσης τὴν ἡῖονα  
καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη μεσόγεια ξύμπαντα ἔχουσιν. αὕτη  
τέ ἐστίν ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη τὰ πρότερα.  
ἐν Βριττίοις γὰρ Λοκροὶ τέ εἰσιν οἱ Ἐπιζεφύριοι  
24 καὶ Κροτωνιάται καὶ Θούριοι. τοῦ δὲ κόλπου  
ἐκτὸς πρῶτοι μὲν Ἕλληνές εἰσιν, Ἰππειῶται  
καλούμενοι, ἄχρι Ἐπιδάμνου πόλεως, ἥπερ ἐπι-  
25 θαλασσία οἰκεῖται. καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἐχομένη  
Πρέκαλις ἡ χώρα ἐστί, μεθ' ἣν Δαλματία ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Hoeschel : ἐς MSS.

For example, the so-called Crisaean Gulf, ending at Lechaëum, where the city of Corinth is, forms the isthmus of that city, about forty stades in breadth; and the gulf off the Hellespont, which they call the Black Gulf,<sup>1</sup> makes the isthmus at the Chersonese no broader than the Corinthian, but of about the same size. But from the city of Ravenna, where the Ionian Gulf ends, to the Tuscan Sea is not less than eight days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And the reason is that the arm of the sea, as it advances,<sup>2</sup> always inclines very far to the right. And below this gulf the first town is Dryus,<sup>3</sup> which is now called Hydrus. And on the right of this are the Calabrians, Apulians, and Samnites, and next to them dwell the Piceni, whose territory extends as far as the city of Ravenna. And on the other side are the remainder of the Calabrians, the Bruttii, and the Lucani, beyond whom dwell the Campani as far as the city of Taracina, and their territory is adjoined by that of Rome. These peoples hold the shores of the two seas, and all the interior of that part of Italy. And this is the country called Magna Graecia in former times. For among the Bruttii are the Epizephyrian Locrians and the inhabitants of Croton and Thurii. But north of the gulf the first inhabitants are Greeks, called Epirotes, as far as the city of Epidamnus, which is situated on the sea. And adjoining this is the land of Precalis, beyond which

<sup>1</sup> Now the Gulf of Saros, north and west of the Gallipoli peninsula.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* to the north west. Procopius means that the Adriatic should incline at its upper end more toward the left (the west) in order to form the isthmus which he is surprised to find lacking.

<sup>3</sup> Hydruntum; cf. Book III. i. 9, note.

καλεῖται, καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐσπερίας λελογίσται κράτει·  
 τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Λιβουρνία τε καὶ Ἰστρία καὶ  
 Βενετίων ἡ χώρα ἐστὶ μέχρι ἐς Ῥάβενναν πύλιν  
 26 διήκουσα. οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιθαλάσσιοι ταύτη ὄκην-  
 ται. ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν Σίσκιοί τε καὶ Σούαβοι  
 (οὐχ οἱ Φράγγων κατήκοοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτοις  
 27 ἕτεροι) χώραν τὴν μεσόγειον ἔχουσι. καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 τούτους Καρνίοι τε καὶ Νωρικοὶ ἴδρυνται. τούτων  
 δὲ Δᾶκαί τε καὶ Παννόνες ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ  
 ἄλλα τε χωρία καὶ Σιγγιδόνον καὶ Σίρμιον  
 ἔχουσιν, ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διήκοντες.  
 28 τούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν Γότθοι κόλπου τοῦ  
 Ἰονίου ἐκτὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἦρχον,  
 ὑπὲρ δὲ Ῥαβέννης πόλεως Πάδου τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 29 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Λιγούριοι ὄκηνται. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ  
 μὲν πρὸς βορρᾷν ἄνεμον Ἀλβανοὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ὑπερ-  
 φυῶς ἀγαθῇ Λαγγούβιλλα καλουμένη οἰκοῦσι,  
 τούτων τε ὑπερθεν ἔθνη τὰ Φράγγοις κατήκοά  
 ἐστί, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν Γάλλοι τε καὶ μετ'  
 30 ἐκείνους Ἰσπανοὶ ἔχουσι. τοῦ δὲ Πάδου ἐν δεξιᾷ  
 Λίμιλία τέ ἐστί καὶ τὰ Τούσκων ἔθνη, ἄχρι καὶ  
 ἐς τοὺς Ῥώμης ὄρους διήκοντα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ  
 ὧδέ πη ἔχει.

XVI

Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ Ῥώμης ὅρια κύκλῳ ἅπαντα  
 μέχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν καταλαβὼν ἐκρατύ-  
 νατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἅπαντα ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε,

<sup>1</sup> τῷ . . . κράτει Haury : τὸ . . . κράτος MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Croatia.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Belgrade.

is the territory called Dalmatia, all of which is counted as part of the western empire. And beyond that point is Liburnia,<sup>1</sup> and Istria, and the land of the Veneti extending to the city of Ravenna. These countries are situated on the sea in that region. But above them are the Siscii and Suevi (not those who are subjects of the Franks, but another group), who inhabit the interior. And beyond these are settled the Carnii and Norici. On the right of these dwell the Dacians and Pannonians, who hold a number of towns, including Singidunum<sup>2</sup> and Sirmium, and extend as far as the Ister River. Now these peoples north of the Ionian Gulf were ruled by the Goths at the beginning of this war, but beyond the city of Ravenna on the left of the river Po the country was inhabited by the Ligurians.<sup>3</sup> And to the north of them live the Albani in an exceedingly good land called Langovilla, and beyond these are the nations subject to the Franks, while the country to the west is held by the Gauls and after them the Spaniards. On the right of the Po are Aemilia<sup>4</sup> and the Tuscan peoples, which extend as far as the boundaries of Rome. So much, then, for this.

## XVI

So Belisarius took possession of all the territory of Rome as far as the river Tiber, and strengthened it. And when all had been settled by him in the best

<sup>2</sup> Procopius seems to have erred: Liguria, as well as Aemilia (below), was south of the Po. Cf. chap. xii. 4, where Liguria is represented as extending to the Alps.

<sup>4</sup> Whose capital was Placentia (Piacenzo).



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πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστῶν ξὺν δορυφόροις,  
 ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ζαρτῆρι καὶ Χορσομάνῳ καὶ Λί-  
 σχμάνῳ τοῖς Μασσαγέταις καὶ στρατιὰν ἄλλην  
 Κωνσταντίνῳ ἔδωκεν, ἔς τε Τουσκίαν ἐκέλευεν  
 2 ἵέναι, ἐφ' ᾧ παραστήσεται τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. καὶ  
 Βέσσαν ἐπήγγελλε καταλαβεῖν Ναριάν, πόλιν  
 ἐχυρὰν μάλιστα ἐν Τούσκοις οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ Βέσσας  
 οὗτος Γότθος μὲν ἦν γένος τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐν  
 Θρίκῃ ὠκημένων, Θευδερίχῳ τε οὐκ ἐπισπομέ-  
 νων,<sup>1</sup> ἥνικα ἐνθένδε ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐπήγε τὸν Γότθων  
 λεών, δραστήριος δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια.  
 3 στρατηγὸς τε γὰρ ἦν ἄριστος καὶ αὐτουργὸς  
 δεξιός. καὶ Βέσσας μὲν οὔτι ἀκουσίῳ τῶν  
 οἰκητόρων Ναριάν ἔσχε, Κωνσταντίνος δὲ Σπο-  
 λιτίον τε καὶ Περυσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα πόλεις-  
 4 ματα παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. ἐθελούσιοι γὰρ  
 αὐτὸν ταῖς πόλεσι Τούσκοι ἐδέχοντο. φρουρὰν  
 οὖν ἐν Σπολιτίῳ καταστησάμενος αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ  
 ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐν Περυσίᾳ τῇ Τούσκων πρώτῃ  
 ἡσύχαζεν.  
 5 Οὐίττιγισ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας στρατιὰν τε καὶ  
 ἄρχοντας Οὐνίλαν τε καὶ Πίσσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 6 ἔπεμπε. οἷς Κωνσταντίνος ὑπαντιάσας ἐν τῷ  
 Περυσίας προαστείῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε. πλήθει δὲ  
 τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπεραιρόντων ἀγχώματος μὲν τὰ  
 πρῶτα ἐγεγόνει ἡ μάχη, μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ  
 σφῶν ἀρετῇ καθυπέρτεροι γεγενημέιοι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο, φεύγοντάς τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ  
 7 σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἐκτενον· καὶ ζῶντας ἐλόντες  
 τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρχοντας παρὰ Βελισάριον  
 ἔπεμψαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Οὐίττιγισ ἤκουσεν,

<sup>1</sup> ἐπισπομένων Maltretus: ἐπισχομένῳ MSS.

possible manner, he gave to Constantinus a large number of his own guards together with many spear-men, including the Massagetæ Zarter, Chorsomanus, and Aeschmanus, and an army besides, commanding him to go into Tuscany, in order to win over the towns of that region. And he gave orders to Bessas to take possession of Narnia, a very strong city in Tuscany. Now this Bessas was a Goth by birth, one of those who had dwelt in Thrace from of old and had not followed Theoderic when he led the Gothic nation thence into Italy, and he was an energetic man and a capable warrior. For he was both a general of the first rank, and a skilful man in action. And Bessas took Narnia not at all against the will of the inhabitants, and Constantinus won over Spolitium<sup>1</sup> and Perusia<sup>2</sup> and certain other towns without any trouble. For the Tuscans received him into their cities willingly. So after establishing a garrison in Spolitium, he himself remained quietly with his army in Perusia, the first city in Tuscany.

Now when Vittigis heard this, he sent against them an army with Unilas and Pissas as its commanders. And Constantinus confronted these troops in the outskirts of Perusia and engaged with them. The battle was at first evenly disputed, since the barbarians were superior in numbers, but afterwards the Romans by their valour gained the upper hand and routed the enemy, and while they were fleeing in complete disorder the Romans killed almost all of them: and they captured alive the commanders of the enemy and sent them to Belisarius. Now when Vittigis heard this, he was no longer

<sup>1</sup> Modern Spoleto.<sup>2</sup> Modern Perugia.

- ἡσυχάζειν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης οὐκέτι ἤθελεν, οὐδὲ  
 αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> Μαρκίας τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ οὐπω ἐκ<sup>2</sup>  
 8 Γαλλίων ἤκουτες ἐμπόδιοι ἦσαν. ἐς μὲν οὖν  
 Δαλματίαν στρατιάν τε πολλήν καὶ ἄρχοντας  
 Ἀσινάριόν τε καὶ Οὐλιγίσαλον ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
 9 Δαλματίαν τῇ Γότθων ἀρχῇ ἀνασώσονται. καὶ  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλεν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ Σουαβίαν χωρίων  
 στράτευμα ἐταιρισμένοις τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων  
 οὕτω δὴ εὐθὺς Δαλματίας τε καὶ Σαλῶνων ἵεναι.  
 10 ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ μακρὰ πλοῖα πολλὰ ἔπεμψεν,  
 ὅπως Σάλωνας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν  
 11 πολιορκεῖν οἰοί τε ᾧσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ παντὶ  
 στρατῷ ἐπὶ Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ῥώμην ἵεναι  
 ὑπέειπετο, ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ  
 μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπαγόμενος, καὶ αὐτῶν  
 τεθωρακισμένοι ξὺν τοῖς ἵπποις οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν.  
 12 Ἀσινάριος μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὴν Σουαβίαν γενό-  
 μενος τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στράτευμα ἤγειρε, μόνος  
 δὲ Οὐλιγίσαλος Γότθοις ἐς Λιβουριάν ἡγήσατο.  
 13 καὶ σφίσι Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίῳ Σκάρδων ἐς χεῖρας  
 ἐλθόντων ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς  
 Βοῦρνον πόλιν· ἐνταῦθά τε τὸν συνάρχοντα  
 14 ἀνέμεινεν Οὐλιγίσαλος. Κωνσταντιανὸς δέ, ἐπεὶ  
 τὴν Ἀσιναρίου παρασκευὴν ἤκουσε, δείσας περὶ  
 Σάλωσι, τοὺς στρατιώτας μετεπέμψατο οἱ ξύμ-  
 15 παντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ φρούρια εἶχον. καὶ τάφρον τε  
 ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ἅπαντα<sup>3</sup> ὥρυσε κύκλῳ καὶ  
 τὰ ἄλλα ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ὡς ἄριστα ἐξηρτύετο.  
 Ἀσινάριος δὲ πάμπολύ τι στράτευμα βαρβάρων

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ Grotius and Maltretus: αὐτὸν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ Hoeschel: om. MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἅπαντα L: ἀπάντων V.

willing to remain quietly in Ravenna, where he was embarrassed by the absence of Marcias and his men, who had not yet come from Gaul. So he sent to Dalmatia a great army with Asinarius and Uligisalus as its commanders, in order to recover Dalmatia for the Gothic rule. And he directed them to add to their own troops an army from the land of the Suevi, composed of the barbarians there, and then to proceed directly to Dalmatia and Salones. And he also sent with them many ships of war, in order that they might be able to besiege Salones both by land and by sea. But he himself was hastening to go with his whole army against Belisarius and Rome, leading against him horsemen and infantry to the number of not less than one hundred and fifty thousand, and the most of them as well as their horses were clad in armour.

So Asinarius, upon reaching the country of the Suevi, began to gather the army of the barbarians, while Uligisalus alone led the Goths into Liburnia. And when the Romans engaged with them at a place called Scardon, they were defeated in the battle and retired to the city of Burnus; and there Uligisalus awaited his colleague. But Constantianus, upon hearing of the preparations of Asinarius, became afraid for Salones, and summoned the soldiers who were holding all the fortresses in that region. He then dug a moat around the whole circuit wall and made all the other preparations for the siege in the best manner possible. And Asinarius, after gathering an exceedingly large army of barbarians, came to the

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- 16 ἀγείρας ἐς Βοῦρνον πόλιν ἀφίκετο. ἔνθα δὲ  
 Οὐλιγισάλῳ τε καὶ τῇ Γούθῳ στρατιᾷ συμμίξας  
 ἐς Σάλωνας ἦλθε. καὶ χαράκῳ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν  
 περίβολον ἐποίησαντο, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα στρατιωτῶν  
 ἐμπλησάμενοι τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ ἐπιθαλάσσιον  
 μέρος ἐφρούρουν· οὕτω τε Σάλωνας κατὰ γῆν τε  
 17 καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπολιόρκουν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
 ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ναυσὶν ἑξαπιναίως ἐπιθέμενοι  
 ἐς φυγὴν τρέπουσι καὶ αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν αὐτοῖς  
 ἀνδράσι καταδύουσι, πολλὰς δὲ ἀνδρῶν κενὰς  
 18 εἶλον. οὐ μέντοι τὴν προσεδρεῖαν Γούθοι διέ-  
 λυσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαῖους  
 κατὰ κράτος πολιορκοῦντες εἶρξαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
 στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Γούθων ἐν Δαλ-  
 ματίαις ἐφέρετο τῇδε.
- 19 Οὐίττιγιδι δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐκ Ῥώμης  
 ἠκόντων ἀκούσαντι τὸ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ στράτευμα  
 βραχύτατον<sup>1</sup> εἶναι, Ῥώμης τε ὑποκεχωρηκότι  
 μετέμελε καὶ μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκέτι  
 ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦει.
- 20 καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύτῃ<sup>2</sup> τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν τις ἱερέων ἐκ  
 Ῥώμης ἦκων ἐνέτυχεν. οὐ δὲ ξὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ  
 πυθέσθαι φασὶν Οὐίττιγιν εἰ Βελισάριος ἔτι ἐν  
 Ῥώμῃ εἴη, ἅτε δείσαντα μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτὸν κατα-  
 λαμβάνειν οἷός τε ᾗ, ἀλλὰ φθάσῃ ἀποδρὰς  
 ἐνθένδε. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἡκιστά οἱ χρήναι τοῦτο
- 21 ἐν φροντίδι εἶναι· καὶ αὐτὸν γάρ οἱ ἀναδέχεσθαι  
 μήποτε Βελισάριον δρασμῷ χρήσασθαι,<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ'  
 αὐτοῦ μένειν. καὶ τὸν ἔτι ἐπείγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ

<sup>1</sup> βραχύτατον Grotius : βαρύτατον MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτῃ V : αὐτῇ L.

<sup>3</sup> χρήσασθαι KVL : χρήσεσθαι V<sub>1</sub>.

city of Burnus. There he joined Uligisalus and the Gothic army and proceeded to Salones. And they made a stockade about the circuit-wall, and also, filling their ships with soldiers, kept guard over the side of the fortifications which faced the sea. In this manner they proceeded to besiege Salones both by land and by sea; but the Romans suddenly made an attack upon the ships of the enemy and turned them to flight, and many of them they sunk, men and all, and also captured many without their crews. However, the Goths did not raise the siege, but maintained it vigorously and kept the Romans still more closely confined to the city than before. Such, then, were the fortunes of the Roman and Gothic armies in Dalmatia.

But Vittigis, upon hearing from the natives who came from Rome that the army which Belisarius had was very small, began to repent of his withdrawal from Rome, and was no longer able to endure the situation, but was now so carried away by fury that he advanced against them. And on his way thither he fell in with a priest who was coming from Rome. Whereupon they say that Vittigis in great excitement enquired of this man whether Belisarius was still in Rome, shewing that he was afraid he would not be able to catch him, but that Belisarius would forestall him by running away. But the priest, they say, replied that he need not be at all concerned about that; for he, the priest, was able to guarantee that Belisarius would never resort to flight, but was remaining where he was. But Vittigis, they say,



πρότερον, εὐξαμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τὸ Ῥώμης  
θεάσασθαι τείχος πρότερον ἢ Βελισάριον εἰθένδε  
ἀποδρᾶναι.

XVII

- Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ Γότθους πανδημεὶ στρα-  
τεύεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤκουσε, διηπορεῖτο. οὔτε  
γὰρ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἰκωνσταντίνον<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ Βέσσαν  
ἀπολείπεσθαι ἤθελεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὀλίγης οἱ τῆς  
στρατιᾶς παντάπασιν οὔσης, καὶ τὰ ἐν Τούσκοις  
ἐκλιπεῖν ὀχυρώματα ἐδόκει οἱ ἀξύμφορον εἶναι,  
ὅπως δὴ μὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις Γότθοι ἐπιτειχί-  
2 σματα ἔχοιεν. λογισάμενος οὖν Κωνσταντίνῳ<sup>2</sup>  
τε καὶ Βέσσᾳ ἐπέστειλε φρουρὰν μὲν ἐν τοῖς  
ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν ἐκείνη ἀπολιπεῖν χωρίων,  
ὅση δὴ φυλάσσειν αὐτὰ ἱκανὴ εἶη, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῷ  
3 ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. καὶ  
Κωνσταντίνος<sup>3</sup> μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. ἐν τε γὰρ  
Περυσίᾳ καὶ Σπολιτίῳ φρουρὰν καταστησάμενος  
ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπήλαινε.  
4 Βέσσα δὲ σχολαίτερον τὰ ἐν Ναρινίᾳ καθισταμέ-  
νου ξυνέπεσε τὴν δίοδον εἰθένδε ποιοιμένων τῶν  
πολεμίων ἔμπλεα Γότθων τὰ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ  
5 πεδία εἶναι. πρόδρομοι δὲ οὗτοι πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης  
στρατιᾶς ἦσαν· οἷς δὴ Βέσσας ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν  
τούς τε κατ' αὐτὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἐτρέψατο καὶ  
πολλοὺς κτείνας, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ἐβιάζετο, ἐς  
6 Ναρινίαν ἀνεχώρησεν. ἐνταῦθά τε φρουροὺς

<sup>1</sup> Κωνσταντίνον Maltretus: κωνσταντιανόν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Κων. Maltretus: κωνσταντιανῶ MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Κων. Maltretus: κωνσταντιανός MSS.

kept hastening still more than before, praying that he might see with his own eyes the walls of Rome before Belisarius made his escape from the city.

## XVII

BUT Belisarius, when he heard that the Goths were marching against him with their whole force, was in a dilemma. For he was unwilling, on the one hand, to dispense with the troops of Constantinus and Bessas, especially since his army was exceedingly small, and, on the other, it seemed to him inexpedient to abandon the strongholds in Tuscany, lest the Goths should hold these as fortresses against the Romans. So after considering the matter he sent word to Constantinus and Bessas to leave garrisons in the positions which absolutely required them, large enough to guard them, while they themselves with the rest of the army should come to Rome with all speed. And Constantinus acted accordingly. For he established garrisons in Perusia and Spolitium, and with all the rest of his troops marched off to Rome. But while Bessas, in a more leisurely manner, was making his dispositions in Narnia, it so happened that, since the enemy were passing that way, the plains in the outskirts of the city were filled with Goths. These were an advance guard preceding the rest of the army; and Bessas engaged with them and unexpectedly routed those whom he encountered and killed many; but then, since he was overpowered by their superior numbers, he retired into Narnia. And

- ἀπολιπών, καθάπερ οἱ ἐπέστελλε Βελισάριος, ἐς  
 Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἤει παρέσεσθαί τε<sup>1</sup> ὅσοι  
 οὐπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπήγγελλε. Ῥώμης γὰρ  
 Ναρνία πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις σταδίοις  
 7 διέχει. Οὐίτιγισ δὲ Περυσίας μὲν καὶ Σπολιτίου  
 ἀποπειράσθαι ἥκιστα ἐνεχίρει· τὰ γὰρ χωρία  
 ἐχυρὰ ὡς μάλιστά ἐστι, καὶ τρίβεσθαί οἱ τὸν  
 8 χρόνον ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλε· μόνον γάρ οἱ ἐν  
 ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο Βελισάριον οὐπω ἀποδράντα  
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐρέσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ναρνίαν ἔχεσθαι  
 πρὸς τῶν<sup>2</sup> πολεμίων μαθὼν οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα  
 κινεῖν ἠθέλε, δυσπρόσοδόν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἄναντες  
 ὃν τὸ χωρίον εἰδώς· κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὑψηλῷ  
 9 ὄρει. ποταμὸς δὲ Νάρνος τὸν<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ὄρους  
 παραρρεῖ πρόποδα, ὃς καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ  
 πόλει παρέσχευ. ἄνοδοί τε δύο ἐνταῦθα δὴ  
 ἄγουσιν, ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἤλιον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς  
 10 δύοντα. ταύταιν ἀτέρα μὲν στενοχωρίαν τινὰ  
 δύσκολον ἐξ ἀποτόμων πετρῶν ἔλαχεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν  
 ἐτέραν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἰέναι ἢ  
 τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπικαλύπτουσα διάβασιν ταύτη  
 11 ἐργάζεται. ταύτην δὲ τὴν γέφυραν Καῖσαρ  
 Αὐγουστος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδεύματο, θέαμα  
 λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον· τῶν γὰρ κυρτωμάτων  
 πάντων ὑψηλότατόν ἐστιν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν.  
 12 Οὐίτιγισ οὖν οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον σφίσιν  
 ἐνταῦθα τρίβεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐνθέρδε ἀπαλ-  
 λαγείς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἤει, διὰ

<sup>1</sup> παρέσεσθαί τε Krašeninnikov: παρέσεσθαι τότε K, καὶ  
 παρέσεσθαι τότε L.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν Krašeninnikov: τῶν Ῥώμης K, τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ L.

<sup>3</sup> τὸν Scheftlein: ἐς τὸν MSS.

leaving a garrison there according to the instructions of Belisarius, he went with all speed to Rome, and reported that the enemy would be at hand almost instantly. For Narnia is only three hundred and fifty stades distant from Rome. But Vittigis made no attempt at all to capture Perugia and Spolitum; for these places are exceedingly strong and he was quite unwilling that his time should be wasted there, his one desire having come to be to find Belisarius not yet fled from Rome. Moreover, even when he learned that Narnia also was held by the enemy, he was unwilling to attempt anything there, knowing that the place was difficult of access and on steep ground besides; for it is situated on a lofty hill. And the river Narnus flows by the foot of the hill, and it is this which has given the city its name. There are two roads leading up to the city, the one on the east, and the other on the west. One of these is very narrow and difficult by reason of precipitous rocks, while the other cannot be reached except by way of the bridge which spans the river and provides a passage over it at that point. This bridge was built by Caesar Augustus in early times, and is a very noteworthy sight; for its arches are the highest of any known to us.

So Vittigis, not enduring to have his time wasted there, departed thence with all speed and went with the whole army against Rome, making the journey

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 13 Σαβίνων τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
 Ῥώμης ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, σταδίοις τε αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> οὐ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα διεῖχε, Τιβέριδος  
 14 τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρα ἐνέτυχεν. ἔνθα δὲ Βελι-  
 σάριος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον πύργον τε δειμύμενος καὶ  
 πύλας αὐτῷ ἐπιθέμενος στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν  
 κατεστήσατο, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταύτῃ  
 μόνον ὁ Τίβερις διαβατὸς ἦν (νῆές τε γὰρ καὶ  
 γέφυραι πολλαχόσε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τυγχάνουσιν  
 οὔσαι), ἀλλ' ὅτι πλείονα χρόνον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ  
 τοῖς ἐναντίοις τρίβεσθαι ἤθελε, στράτευμά τε  
 15 ἄλλο ἐκ βασιλέως караδοκῶν, καὶ ὅπως ἔτι μᾶλ-  
 λον Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζονται. ἦν τε  
 γὰρ ἐνθὲνδε ἀποκρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι δια-  
 βαίνειν ἐγχειρήσωσιν ἐπὶ γεφύρας ἐτέρωθί πη  
 οὔσης,<sup>2</sup> οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας δαπανᾶσθαι  
 σφίσιν ἐνόμιζε, καὶ πλοῖα βουλομένοις ἐς Τίβεριν  
 κατασπάσαι τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πλείω αὐτοῖς,  
 16 ὥς τὸ εἶκος, τετρίψεσθαι χρόνον. ἃ δὲ ἐν νῷ  
 ἔχων τὴν τῇδε φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο· ἔνθα οἱ  
 Ἰότθοι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἠϋλίσαντο, ἀπορούμενοί  
 τε καὶ πολεμητέα ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐς τὸν πύργον  
 17 τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἰόμενοι· ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτόμολοι  
 δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, βάρβαροι μὲν γένος, στρατιῶται  
 δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκ καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ οὐπὲρ Ἰν-  
 νοκέντιος ἦρχεν. ἔννοια δὲ τότε Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο  
 18 ἀμφὶ Τίβεριν ποταμὸν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι,  
 ὅπως δὲ τῇ τε διαβάσει τῶν πολεμίων ἔτι μᾶλ-  
 λον ἐμπόδιοι γένωνται καὶ θάρσους τοῦ σφετέρου

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς Mallretus: αὐτὸ K, αὐτοῖς L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτέρωθί πη οὔσης Krašeninnikov: ἐτέρωθι μὴ οὔσης K,  
 ἐτέρωθι οὔσης L.

through Sabine territory. And when he drew near to Rome, and was not more than fourteen stades away from it, he came upon a bridge over the Tiber River.<sup>1</sup> There a little while before Belisarius had built a tower, furnished it with gates, and stationed in it a guard of soldiers, not because this is the only point at which the Tiber could be crossed by the enemy (for there are both boats and bridges at many places along the river), but because he wished the enemy to have to spend more time in the journey, since he was expecting another army from the emperor, and also in order that the Romans might bring in still more provisions. For if the barbarians, repulsed at that point, should try to cross on a bridge somewhere else, he thought that not less than twenty days would be consumed by them, and if they wished to launch boats in the Tiber to the necessary number, a still longer time would probably be wasted by them. These, then, were the considerations which led him to establish the garrison at that point; and the Goths bivouacked there that day, being at a loss and supposing that they would be obliged to storm the tower on the following day; but twenty-two deserters came to them, men who were barbarians by race but Roman soldiers, from the cavalry troop commanded by Innocentius.<sup>2</sup> Just at that time it occurred to Belisarius to establish a camp near the Tiber River, in order that they might hinder still more the crossing of the enemy and make some kind of a display of their own daring

Feb. 21,  
537 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> The Mulvian Bridge.      <sup>2</sup> Cf. chap. v. 3.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐπίδειξιν τινα ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιήσονται.  
 19 στρατιῶται μέντοι ὅσοι φρουράν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη,  
 ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ εἶχον, καταπεπληγμένοι τὸν Γούθων  
 ὄμιλον καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου κατωρρωδικότες τὸ  
 μέγεθος, νύκτωρ τὸν πύργον ἐκλιπόντες ὄνπερ  
 20 ἐφύλασσαν, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. ἐς Ῥώμην δὲ  
 σφίσιν οὐκ οἴομενοι εἰσιτητὰ εἶναι ἐπὶ Καμπανίας  
 λάθρα ἐχώρησαν, ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κόλα-  
 σιν δείσαντες, ἢ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐρυθριῶντες.

## XVIII

- Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν Γούθοι τὰς τοῦ  
 πύργου πύλας πόνῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείραντες τὴν  
 διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐμποδῶν  
 2 ἰσταμένου. Βελισάριος δὲ οὐπω τι πεπυσμένος  
 τῶν ἀμφὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ξυμπεσόντων ἱππέας χιλί-  
 ους ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν γέφυραν ἦει,  
 τὸν χώρον ἐπισκεψόμενος οὐπερ ἂν σφίσιν ἐν-  
 3 στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἄμεινον εἴη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγ-  
 γυτέρῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐντυγχάνουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάσιν, ἐς χεῖράς τε αὐτῶν  
 4 τισιν οὔτι ἐβελούσιοι ἦλθον. ἐξ ἱππέων δὲ ξυνί-  
 στατο ἢ ξυμβολὴ ἑκατέρωθεν. τότε Βελισάριος,  
 καίπερ ἀσφαλὴς τὰ πρότερα ὦν, οὐκέτι τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς  
 5 πρώτοις ἅτε στρατιώτης ἐμάχετο· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ξυνέβη ἐς κίνδυνοι πολὺι  
 ἐκπεπτωκέιναι, ἐπεὶ ξύμπασα ἢ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴ  
 6 ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔκειτο. ἔτυχε δὲ ἱππῶ τμηκαῦτα ὀχού-  
 μενος, πολέμων τε λίαν ἐμπείρῳ καὶ διασώσασθαι

to their opponents. But all the soldiers who, as has been stated, were keeping guard at the bridge, being overcome with terror at the throng of Goths and quailing at the magnitude of their danger, abandoned by night the tower they were guarding and rushed off in flight. But thinking that they could not enter Rome, they stealthily marched off toward Campania, either because they were afraid of the punishment the general would inflict or because they were ashamed to appear before their comrades.

### XVIII

On the following day the Goths destroyed the gates of the tower with no trouble and made the crossing, since no one tried to oppose them. But Belisarius, who had not as yet learned what had happened to the garrison, was bringing up a thousand horsemen to the bridge over the river, in order to look over the ground and decide where it would be best for his forces to make camp. But when they had come rather close, they met the enemy already across the river, and not at all willingly they engaged with some of them. And the battle was carried on by horsemen on both sides. Then Belisarius, though he was safe before, would no longer keep the general's post, but began to fight in the front ranks like a soldier; and consequently the cause of the Romans was thrown into great danger, for the whole decision of the war rested with him. But it happened that the horse he was riding at that time was unusually experienced in warfare and knew well

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τὸν ἐπιβάτην ἐπισταμένῳ, ὃς δὴ ὅλον μὲν τὸ  
 σῶμα φαιὸς ἦν, τὸ μέτωπον δὲ ἅπαν ἐκ κεφαλῆς  
 μέχρι ἐς ῥίνας λευκὸς μάλιστα. τοῦτον Ἕλληνες  
 μὲν φαλίον, βάρβαροι δὲ βάλαν καλοῦσι. καὶ  
 ξυνέπεσε Γότθων τοὺς πλείστους βαλλεῖν ἐπ'  
 αὐτόν τε καὶ Βελισάριον τὰ τε ἀκόντια καὶ τὰ  
 7 ἄλλα βέλη ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. αὐτόμολοι ὅσοι  
 τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐς Γότθους ἦκον, ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώ-  
 τοις<sup>1</sup> μαχόμενον Βελισάριον εἶδον, ἐπιστάμενοι  
 ὥς, ἦν αὐτὸς πέσῃ, διαφθαρήσεται Ῥωμαίοις  
 αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὰ πράγματα, κραυγῇ ἐχρῶντο,  
 8 βάλλειν ἐγκελευόμενοι ἐς ἵππον τὸν βάλαν. καὶ  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Γότθων στρατιὰν ξύμπασαν  
 οὗτος δὴ περιφερόμενος ὁ λόγος ἦλθε, ζήτησιν  
 μέντοι αὐτοῦ ἅτε ἐν θορύβῳ μεγάλῳ ἦκιστα  
 ἐποιήσαντο, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἐς Βελισάριον ἔφερε σαφῶς  
 9 ἔγνωσαν. ἀλλὰ ξυμβάλλοντες οὐκ εἰκὴ τὸν λόγον  
 ἐπιπολάζοντα ὥς πάντας<sup>2</sup> ἵεναι, τῶν ἄλλων ἀφέ-  
 μενοι πάντων, οἱ πλείστοι ἐπὶ Βελισάριον ἔβαλ-  
 10 λον. ἤδη δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοτιμία μεγάλη ἐχόμενοι  
 ὅσοι ἀρετῆς τι μετεποιοῦντο, ὥς ἀγχοτάτω παρα-  
 γερόμενοι, ἅπτεσθαι τε αὐτοῦ ἐνεχέιρουν καὶ τοῖς  
 δόρασι καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐχόμενοι<sup>3</sup>  
 11 ἔπαιον. Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἐπιστροφάδην  
 τοῖς ἀεὶ ὑπαντιάζοντας ἔκτειε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν  
 εὐνοίας ὥς μάλιστα δὴ ἐν<sup>4</sup> τούτῳ τῷ κινδύνῳ  
 12 ἀπήλαυσε. γενόμενοι γὰρ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες

<sup>1</sup> πρώτοις L : γότθοις K in context, ἀ<sup>ο</sup>15 K in margin.

<sup>2</sup> ὥς πάντας K : ἐς πάντα L.

<sup>3</sup> ἐχόμενοι K : χρώμενοι L.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν Maltretus : om. MSS.

how to save his rider ; and his whole body was dark grey, except that his face from the top of his head to the nostrils was the purest white. Such a horse the Greeks call "phalius"<sup>1</sup> and the barbarians "balan." And it so happened that the most of the Goths threw their javelin and other missiles at him and at Belisarius for the following reason. Those deserters who on the previous day had come to the Goths, when they saw Belisarius fighting in the front ranks, knowing well that, if he should fall, the cause of the Romans would be ruined instantly, cried aloud urging them to "shoot at the white-faced horse." Consequently this saying was passed around and reached the whole Gothic army, and they did not question it at all, since they were in a great tumult of fighting, nor did they know clearly that it referred to Belisarius. But conjecturing that it was not by mere accident that the saying had gained such currency as to reach all, the most of them, neglecting all others, began to shoot at Belisarius. And every man among them who laid any claim to valour was immediately possessed with a great eagerness to win honour, and getting as close as possible they kept trying to lay hold of him and in a great fury kept striking with their spears and swords. But Belisarius himself, turning from side to side, kept killing as they came those who encountered him, and he also profited very greatly by the loyalty of his own spearmen and guards in this moment of danger. For they all surrounded

<sup>1</sup> Having a white spot, "White-face."

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο οἷαν πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων·  
 13 ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν δεδηλωσθαι οἶμαι· τὰς γὰρ  
 ἀσπίδας τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἵππου προξέ-  
 βλημένοι, τὰ τε βέλη πάντα ἐδέχοντο καὶ τοὺς  
 αἰεὶ ἐπιόντας ὠθισμῷ χρώμενοι ἀπεκρούοντο.  
 οὕτω τε ἡ ξυμβολὴ πᾶσα ἐς σῶμα ἑνὸς ἀπεκρίθη  
 14 ἀνδρός. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτουσι μὲν Γότθοι  
 οὐχ ἥσους ἢ χίλιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τοῖς  
 πρώτοις ἐμάχοντο, θνήσκουσι δὲ τῆς Βελισαρίου  
 οἰκίας πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Μαξέντιος ὁ  
 δορυφόρος, ἔργα μεγάλα ἐς<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπι-  
 15 δεξιόμενος. Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ξυνέβη τις τύχη ἐκείνῃ  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μήτε τετρώσθαι μήτε βεβλήσθαι, καί-  
 περ ἄμφ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ γενομένης τῆς μάχης.  
 16 Τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πο-  
 λεμίους ἐτρέψαντο, ἔφευγέ τε πάμπολύ τι βαρ-  
 βάρων πλῆθος, ἕως ἐς στρατόπεδον τὸ αὐτῶν  
 ἵκοντο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ Γότθων πεζοὶ ἅτε ἀκμήτες  
 ὄντες ὑπέστησάν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πόνῳ  
 17 οὐδενὶ ἀπεώσαντο. βεβοηθηκύτων τε αἰθις ἵπ-  
 πέων ἐτέρων κατὰ κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι ἐφυγον, ἕως  
 ἀναβάντες ἐς τι γεώλοφον ἔστησαν. καταλαβόν-  
 των τε σφᾶς βαρβάρων ἵππέων, αἰθις ἵππομαχία  
 18 ἐγένετο. ἔνθα δὴ Βαλειτῖνος, ὁ Φωτίου τοῦ Ἀν-  
 τωνίνης παιδὸς ἵπποκόμος, ἀρετῆς δῆλωσιν ὥς  
 μάλιστα ἐποιήσατο. μόνος γὰρ ἐσπηδήσας ἐς  
 τῶν πολεμίων τὸν ὄμιλον ἐμπόδιός τε τῇ Γότθων  
 ὀρμῇ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ διεσώσατο.  
 19 οὕτω τε διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον  
 ἦλθον, διώκοντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἄχρι ἐς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἐς K : ἐπὶ L.

him and made a display of valour such, I imagine, as has never been shewn by any man in the world to this day; for, holding out their shields in defence of both the general and his horse, they not only received all the missiles, but also forced back and beat off those who from time to time assailed him. And thus the whole engagement was centred about the body of one man. In this struggle there fell among the Goths no fewer than a thousand, and they were men who fought in the front ranks; and of the household of Belisarius many of the noblest were slain, and Maxentius, the spearman, after making a display of great exploits against the enemy. But by some chance Belisarius was neither wounded nor hit by a missile on that day, although the battle was waged around him alone.

Finally by their valour the Romans turned the enemy to flight, and an exceedingly great multitude of barbarians fled until they reached their main army. For there the Gothic infantry, being entirely fresh, withstood their enemy and forced them back without any trouble. And when another body of cavalry in turn reinforced the Goths, the Romans fled at top speed until they reached a certain hill, which they climbed, and there held their position. But the enemy's horsemen were upon them directly, and a second cavalry battle took place. There Valentinus, the groom of Photius, the son of Antonina, made a remarkable exhibition of valour. For by leaping alone into the throng of the enemy he opposed himself to the onrush of the Goths and thus saved his companions. In this way the Romans escaped, and arrived at the fortifications of Rome, and the barbarians in pursuit pressed upon them



# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 20 τεῖχος ἐνέκειντο<sup>1</sup> ἀμφὶ τὴν πύλην ἢ Σαλαρία  
 ὠνόμασται.<sup>2</sup> δέξαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ τοῖς φεύ-  
 γουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ξυνεισβαλόντες τοῦ περιβόλου  
 ἐντὸς γένωνται, ἀνακλίνειν τὰς πύλας ἥκιστα  
 ἤθελον, καίπερ Βελισαρίου πολλά τε σφίσιν  
 21 ἐγκελευομένου καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἀναβιῶντος. οὔτε  
 γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πύργου διακύπτοντες  
 ἐπιγινώσκουν οἳ οἱ τε ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ τό τε πρόσω-  
 πον καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ ξύμπασα λύθρῳ τε καὶ κονι-  
 ορτῷ ἐκαλύπτετο, ἅμα δὲ οὐδὲ καθορᾶν τις ἀκρι-  
 βῶς εἶχεν· ἦν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ ἡλίου εὐσιν.  
 22 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ περιεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖοι  
 ᾔοντο· ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρότερον γενομένῃ<sup>3</sup> τροπῇ  
 φεύγοντες ἦκον, τεθνάναι Βελισάριον ἐν τοῖς  
 23 πρώτοις ἀριστεύοντα ἠγγελλον. ὁ μὲν οἶν ὄμιλος  
 τῶν πολεμίων ρεύσας τε πολὺς καὶ θυμῷ μεγάλῳ  
 ἐχόμενος, τὴν τε τάφρον εὐθὺς διαβῆναι καὶ τοῖς  
 24 φεύγουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθέσθαι διανοοῦντο, Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀθρόοι τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς  
 γεγεννημένοι ἐν χρῷ τε ξυνιόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐς  
 25 ὀλίγον συνήγοντο. οἱ μὲντοι τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς  
 ἅτε ἀστρατήγητοί<sup>4</sup> τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντά-  
 πασιν ὄντες καὶ περὶ σφίσιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ  
 πόλει πεφοβημένοι, ἀμύνειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καί-  
 περ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἐλθοῦσιν, οὐδαμῇ εἶχον.  
 26 Τότε Βελισάριον ἐννοιά τε καὶ τόλμα εἰσῆλθεν,  
 ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου τὰ πράγματα  
 διεσώσατο. ἐγκελευσάμενος γὰρ τοῖς ξὺν αὐτῷ  
 27 πᾶσιν ἑξαπιναιῶς τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνέπεσεν. οἱ

<sup>1</sup> ἐνέκειντο K : ἤκοντο L.

<sup>2</sup> Σαλαρία ὠνόμασται K : βελισαρία ὠνόμασται iñ L.

<sup>3</sup> γενομένη Haury : γενομένοι MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἀστρατήγοι K, ἀστρατήγοιτοί L.

as far as the wall by the gate which has been named the Salarian Gate.<sup>1</sup> But the people of Rome, fearing lest the enemy should rush in together with the fugitives and thus get inside the fortifications, were quite unwilling to open the gates, although Belisarius urged them again and again and called upon them with threats to do so. For, on the one hand, those who peered out of the tower were unable to recognise the man, for his face and his whole head were covered with gore and dust, and at the same time no one was able to see very clearly, either; for it was late in the day, about sunset. Moreover, the Romans had no reason to suppose that the general survived; for those who had come in flight from the rout which had taken place earlier reported that Belisarius had died fighting bravely in the front ranks. So the throng of the enemy, which had rushed up in strength and possessed with great fury, were purposing to cross the moat straightway and attack the fugitives there; and the Romans, finding themselves massed along the wall, after they had come inside the moat, and so close together that they touched one another, were being crowded into a small space. Those inside the fortifications, however, since they were without a general and altogether unprepared, and being in a panic of fear for themselves and for the city, were quite unable to defend their own men, although these were now in so perilous a situation.

Then a daring thought came to Belisarius, which unexpectedly saved the day for the Romans. For urging on all his men he suddenly fell upon the

<sup>1</sup> See plan opposite p. 185.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἀκοσμία πολλῇ ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ  
 καὶ διώξει χρώμενοι, ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ἐπιόντας παρὰ  
 δόξαν τοὺς φεύγοντας εἶδον, ὑποτοπήσαντες καὶ  
 ἄλλο βεβοηθηκέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στράτευμα,  
 ἐς φόβον τε πολὺν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταστάντες κατὰ  
 28 κρείτος ἤδη ἅπαντες ἔφευγον. Βελισάριος δὲ  
 ἥκιστα ἐκπεσὼν ἐς τὴν δίωξιν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος  
 ἀνέστρεψεν. οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσύναντες  
 αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας τῇ πόλει  
 29 ἐξέξαντο. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν κινδύνου Βελι-  
 σάριός τε καὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ἦλθεν ἡ  
 τε μάχη πρῶτ' ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα.  
 ἡρίστευσαν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων μὲν  
 Βελισάριος, Γότθων δὲ Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριος,  
 ὅς, ἡνίκα ἡ μάχη ἀμφὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐπειδὴ  
 αὐτῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπέπεσεν, οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη  
 ἕως τρισκαίδεκα πληγὰς λαβὼν τῷ σώματι  
 30 ἔπεσε. δόξας δὲ αὐτίκα τεθνάναι, ἡμελήθη τε  
 πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, καίπερ νενικηκότων, καὶ ξὺν  
 31 τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο. τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπειδὴ  
 στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥώμης περι-  
 βόλου οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπεμφάν τινας ἐφ' ὧν νεκρούς  
 τε τοὺς σφετέρους θάψουσι καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπὶ  
 ὁσία τῇ ἐκείνων ποιήσονται, οἱ τὰ σώματα τῶν  
 κειμένων διερευνώμενοι Οὐίσανδον Βανδαλάριον  
 ἔτι ἔμπνουν εὐρίσκουσι, καὶ αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> τῶν τις  
 32 ἐταίρων φωνὴν τινὰ οἱ ἀφεῖναι ἤξιον. ὁ δέ, οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ ἐδύνατο, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐντὸς τῷ τε λιμῷ καὶ τῷ  
 ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης κακοπαθείας αὐχμῷ λίαν ἐκάετο,  
 ὕδωρ οἱ ἔνευεν<sup>2</sup> ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐμβάλλεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν Hoeschel : αὐτῶν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ὕδωρ οἱ ἔνευεν K : καὶ ὕδωρ οἱ ἐνθένδεν ἐδέετο L.

enemy. And they, even before this, had been in great disorder because of the darkness and the fact that they were making a pursuit, and now when, much to their surprise, they saw the fugitives attacking them, they supposed that another army also had come to their assistance from the city, and so were thrown into a great panic and all fled immediately at top speed. But Belisarius by no means rushed out to pursue them, but returned straightway to the wall. And at this the Romans took courage and received him and all his men into the city. So narrowly did Belisarius and the emperor's cause escape peril; and the battle which had begun early in the morning did not end until night. And those who distinguished themselves above all others by their valour in this battle were, among the Romans, Belisarius, and among the Goths, Visandus Vandalarius, who had fallen upon Belisarius at the first when the battle took place about him, and did not desist until he had received thirteen wounds on his body and fell. And since he was supposed to have died immediately, he was not cared for by his companions, although they were victorious, and he lay there with the dead. But on the third day, when the barbarians had made camp hard by the circuit-wall of Rome and had sent some men in order to bury their dead and to perform the customary rites of burial, those who were searching out the bodies of the fallen found Visandus Vandalarius with life still in him, and one of his companions entreated him to speak some word to him. But he could not do even this, for the inside of his body was on fire because of the lack of food and the thirst caused by his suffering, and so he nodded to him to put water into his

- πίοντα τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγονότα ἀράμενοι  
 33 ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤνεγκαν. μέγα τε ὄνομα Οὐί-  
 σανδος Βανδαλάριος ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐν  
 Γότθοις ἔσχε, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῶν πάμ-  
 πολὺν τινα ἐπεβίω χρόνον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτη  
 ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρα γεγενῆσθαι ξυνέπεσε.  
 34 Τότε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ξὺν  
 τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε καὶ τὸν  
 Ῥωμαίων δῆμον σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος  
 ἀγείρας, πυρά τε πολλὰ καίειν καὶ τὴν νύκτα  
 ὅλην ἐγρηγορέναι ἐκέλευε. καὶ τὸν περίβολον  
 περιῶν κύκλῳ τά τε ἄλλα διεῖπε καὶ πύλην  
 35 ἐκάστη τῶν τινα ἀρχόντων ἐπέστησε. Βέσσας  
 δέ, ὃς ἐν πύλῃ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πραίνεστίνῃ φυλα-  
 κὴν ἔσχε, ἄγγελον παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμψας  
 ἐκέλευε λέγειν ἔχουσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν  
 πόλιν, δι' ἄλλης πύλης ἐμβεβληκότων ἢ ὑπὲρ  
 ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐστὶ Παγκρατίου ἀνδρὸς ἀγίου  
 36 ἐπώνυμος οὔσα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὅσοι ἀμφὶ  
 Βελισάριον ἦσαν, σώζεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα διὰ  
 πύλης ἐτέρας παρήνουν. αὐτὸς μέντοι οὔτε  
 κατωρρώδησεν, οὔτε τὸν λόγον ὑγιᾶ ἰσχυρίζετο  
 37 εἶναι. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ὑπὲρ  
 ποταμὸν Τίβεριν κατὰ τάχος, οἳ τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἐπι-  
 σκεψάμενοι οὐδὲν πολέμιον τῇ πόλει ἐνταῦθα  
 38 ξυμβῆναι ἀπήγγελλον. πέμψας οὖν εὐθὺς ἐς  
 πύλην ἐκάστην ἄρχουσι τοῖς πανταχῇ οὔσιν  
 ἐπέστελλεν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκού-  
 σωσι κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐσβεβλη-

mouth. Then when he had drunk and become himself again, they lifted and carried him to the camp. And Visandus Vandalarius won a great name for this deed among the Goths, and he lived on a very considerable time, enjoying the greatest renown. This, then, took place on the third day after the battle.

But at that time Belisarius, after reaching safety with his followers, gathered the soldiers and almost the whole Roman populace to the wall, and commanded them to burn many fires and keep watch throughout the whole night. And going about the circuit of the fortifications, he set everything in order and put one of his commanders in charge of each gate. But Bessas, who took command of the guard at the gate called the Praenestine,<sup>1</sup> sent a messenger to Belisarius with orders to say that the city was held by the enemy, who had broken in through another gate which is across the Tiber River<sup>2</sup> and bears the name of Pancratius, a holy man. And all those who were in the company of Belisarius, upon hearing this, urged him to save himself as quickly as possible through some other gate. He, however, neither became panic-stricken, nor did he hesitate to declare that the report was false. And he also sent some of his horsemen across the Tiber with all speed, and they, after looking over the ground there, brought back word that no hostile attack had been made on the city in that quarter. He therefore sent immediately to each gate and instructed the commanders everywhere that, whenever they heard that the enemy had broken in at any other part of

<sup>1</sup> See plan opposite p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> For Procopius' description of the wall "across the Tiber," see chap. xix. 6-10.



κείναι μοῖραν, μήτε ἀμύνειν μήτε φυλακὴν τὴν  
σφετέραν ἐκλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ μένειν· αὐτῷ γὰρ  
39 ὑπὲρ τούτων μελήσειν. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως  
μὴ ἐκ φήμης οὐκ ἀληθοῦς ἐς ταραχὴν αὐθις  
καθιστῶνται.

Οὐίττιγισ δέ, Ῥωμαίων ἔτι ἐν θορύβῳ πολλῶ  
καθεστῶτων, ἐς πύλην Σαλαρίαν τῶν τινα ἀρ-  
χόντων, Οὔακιν ὄνομα, ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ ἀφανῇ  
40 ἄνδρα. ὃς ἐνταῦθα ἐλθὼν καὶ Ῥωμαίους τῆς  
ἐς Γότθους ἀπιστίας κακίστας τὴν προδοσίαν  
ὠνεῖδιζεν ἢν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τε τῇ πατρίδι πεποιῆσθαι  
καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγεν, οἱ τῆς Γότθων δυνά-  
μεως Γραικοὺς τοὺς σφίσιν οὐχ οἷους τε ἀμύνειν  
ὄντας ἡλλάξαντο, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πρότερα οὐδένα ἐς  
Ἰταλίαν ἦκοντα εἶδον, ὅτι μὴ τραγωδοῦς τε καὶ  
41 μίμους καὶ ναύτας λωποδύτας. ταῦτά τε καὶ πολλὰ  
τοιαῦτα Οὔακис εἰπὼν, ἐπεὶ οἱ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο.  
42 ἐς Γότθους τε καὶ Οὐίττιγιν ἀνεχώρησε. Βελι-  
σάριος δὲ γέλῳτα πολλὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὥφλει,  
ἐπεὶ μόλις τοὺς πολεμίους διαφυγὼν θαρσεῖν τε  
ἤδη καὶ περιφρονεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκέλευεν·  
εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι ὥς κατὰ κράτος αὐτοὺς νικήσει.  
ὅπως δὲ τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ἔγνω ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν  
43 λόγοις εἰρήσεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρῳ ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν,  
νῆστιν ἔτι Βελισάριον ὄντα ἢ τε γυνὴ καὶ τῶν  
ἐπιτηδείων ὅσοι παρήσαν ἄρτου βραχέος κομιδῇ  
γεύσασθαι μόλις ἠνάγκασαν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν  
τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἑκάτεροι διενυκτέρευσαν.

<sup>1</sup> See plan opposite p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Book IV. xxvii. 38, note.

the fortifications, they should not try to assist in the defence nor abandon their post, but should remain quiet; for he himself would take care of such matters. And he did this in order that they might not be thrown into disorder a second time by a rumour which was not true.

But Vittigis, while the Romans were still in great confusion, sent to the Salarian Gate<sup>1</sup> one of his commanders, Vacis by name, a man of no mean station. And when he had arrived there, he began to reproach the Romans for their faithlessness to the Goths and upbraided them for the treason which he said they had committed against both their fatherland and themselves, for they had exchanged the power of the Goths for Greeks who were not able to defend them, although they had never before seen any men of the Greek race come to Italy except actors of tragedy and mimes and thieving sailors.<sup>2</sup> Such words and many like them were spoken by Vacis, but since no one replied to him, he returned to the Goths and Vittigis. As for Belisarius, he brought upon himself much ridicule on the part of the Romans, for though he had barely escaped from the enemy, he bade them take courage thenceforth and look with contempt upon the barbarians; for he knew well, he said, that he would conquer them decisively. Now the manner in which he had come to know this with certainty will be told in the following narrative.<sup>3</sup> At length, when it was well on in the night, Belisarius, who had been fasting up to this time, was with difficulty compelled by his wife and those of his friends who were present to taste a very little bread. Thus, then, the two armies passed this night.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. xxvii. 25-29.

XIX

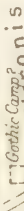
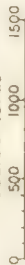
- Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Γότθοι μὲν Ῥώμην  
πολιορκίᾳ ἐλεῖν διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐν-  
πόνῳ οἰόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἀμυνόμενοι  
ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. ἔχει μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὁ περίβολος  
2 δις ἑπτὰ πύλας καὶ πυλίδας τινάς. Γότθοι δὲ  
οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ὅλῳ τῷ<sup>1</sup> στρατοπέδῳ τὸ τεῖχος  
περιλαβέσθαι κύκλῳ, ἐξ ποιησάμενοι χαρακώ-  
ματα πέντε πυλῶν χώρον ἠνώχλουν, ἐκ τῆς  
Φλαμινίας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν καλουμένην Πραίνεστίναν·  
ταῦτά τε αὐτοῖς τὰ χαρακώματα ξύμπαντα ἐντὸς  
3 Τιβέριδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπεποίητο. δέισαντες  
οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ τὴν γέφυραν διαφθείραντες οἱ  
πολέμιοι, ἣ Μολιβίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, ἄβατα  
σφίσι ποιήσονται ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐκτὸς τοῦ ποτα-  
μοῦ ἐστὶ διήκοντα μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ αἰσθησιν τῶν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ κακῶν ἥκιστα  
ἔχοιεν, χαράκωμα ἑβδομον Τιβέριδος ἐκτὸς ἐν  
Νέρωνος πεδίοις ἐπήξαντο, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡ γέφυρα  
4 τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν μέσῳ εἴη. διὸ δὴ ἄλλας  
δύο τῆς πόλεως πύλας ἐνοχλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν  
πολεμίων ξυνέβαινε, τὴν τε Λύρηλίαν (ἣ νῦν  
Πέτρου τοῦ τῶν Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων κορυφαίου  
ἄτε που πλησίον κειμένου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι) καὶ  
5 τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν. οὕτω τε Γότθοι τῷ  
μὲν στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα περι-  
εβάλλοντο τοῦ τείχους μοῖραν, ἄτε δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ  
οὐδαμῇ τὸ παράπαν εἰργόμενοι, ἐς ἅπαντα τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ὅλῳ τῷ K : ὅλον L.



WALLS AND GATES OF  
**ROME**  
IN THE VI. CENTURY A.D.

Scale of Yards



Tomb of Hadrian

Basilica of  
St Peter

Snijders



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P. 7.

de 1787

Based upon plan in Hodgkin's "Italy & her Invaders":

Stanford's Geogr. Inst., London.

## XIX

BUT on the following day they arrayed themselves for the struggle, the Goths thinking to capture Rome by siege without any trouble on account of the great size of the city, and the Romans defending it. Now the wall of the city has fourteen large gates and several smaller ones. And the Goths, being unable with their entire army to envelop the wall on every side, made six fortified camps from which they harassed the portion of the wall containing five gates, from the Flaminian as far as the one called the Praenestine Gate; and all these camps were made by them on the left bank of the Tiber River. Wherefore the barbarians feared lest their enemy, by destroying the bridge which bears the name of *Mulvius*, should render inaccessible to them all the land on the right bank of the river as far as the sea, and in this way have not the slightest experience of the evils of a siege, and so they fixed a seventh camp across the Tiber in the Plain of *Nero*, in order that the bridge might be between their two armies. So in this way two other gates came to be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, the *Aurelian*<sup>1</sup> (which is now named after *Peter*, the chief of the Apostles of Christ, since he lies not far from there<sup>2</sup>) and the *Transtiburtine Gate*.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Goths surrounded only about one-half of the wall with their army, but since they were in no direction wholly shut off from the wall by the river, they made attacks upon

<sup>1</sup> This is an error. Procopius means the *Porta Cornelia*.

<sup>2</sup> According to tradition the *Basilica of St. Peter* was built over the grave of the Apostle.

<sup>3</sup> The *Aurelian*.



περίβολον κύκλω, ἡνίκα ἐβούλουντο, τῷ πολέμῳ ἦσαν.<sup>1</sup>

- 6 "Ουντινα δὲ τρόπον Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος ἐδείμαντο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. πάλαι<sup>2</sup> μὲν ὁ Τίβερις παραρρέων ἐπὶ  
7 πλείστον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐφέρετο τῇδε. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ περίβολος κατὰ τὸν ροῦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνέχει, ὑπτιός τε καὶ λίαν εὐέφοδός  
8 ἐστι. τούτου τε ἀντικρὺ τοῦ χώρου, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Τιβέριδος, λόφον τινὰ μέγαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τῆς πόλεως μύλωνες ἐκ παλαιοῦ πάντες πεποίηνται, ἅτε ὕδατος ἐνταῦθα πολλοῦ διὰ μὲν ὀχετοῦ ἀγομένου ἐς τὴν τοῦ λόφου ὑπερβολήν, ἐς τὸ κάταντες δὲ ξὺν ῥύμῃ μεγάλη ἐν  
9 θένδε ἰόντος. διὸ δὴ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τε λόφον καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην τείχει<sup>3</sup> περιβαλεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ὥς μήποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις δυνατὰ εἴη τοὺς τε μύλωνας διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβᾶσιν εὐπετῶς τῷ τῆς πόλεως  
10 περιβόλῳ ἐπιβουλεύειν. ζεύξαντες οὖν ταύτη τὸν ποταμὸν γεφύρα, ξυνάπτειν τε τὸ τεῖχος ἔδοξαν καὶ οἰκίας συχνὰς ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἀντιπέρας δειμάμενοι μέσον τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριδος πεποίηνται ῥεῦμα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ᾧδὲ πη ἔσχε.  
11 Γότθοι δὲ τάφρους τε βαθείας ἀμφὶ τὰ χαρακώματα ξύμπαντα ὥρυξαν, καὶ τὸν χεῖν ὃν ἐνθένδε ἀφείλοντο ξυννήσαντες ὑπὲρ<sup>4</sup> τοίχου τοῦ ἐνδοῦ, ὑψηλὸν τε αὐτὸν ὥς μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι καὶ σκολόπων ὀξέων καθύπερθεν πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα πηξάμενοι, οὐδέν τι καταδεέστερον τῶν ἐν τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἦσαν: ἔσαν K, ἦσαν L.

<sup>2</sup> πάλαι K: πολὺς L.

<sup>3</sup> τείχει K: τύχη L.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπὲρ: ὑπὸ K, ὑπὲρ τοῦ L.

it throughout its whole extent whenever they wished.

Now the way the Romans came to build the city-wall on both sides of the river I shall now proceed to tell. In ancient times the Tiber used to flow alongside the circuit-wall for a considerable distance, even at the place where it is now enclosed. But this ground, on which the wall rises along the stream of the river, is flat and very accessible. And opposite this flat ground, across the Tiber, it happens that there is a great hill<sup>1</sup> where all the mills of the city have been built from of old, because much water is brought by an aqueduct to the crest of the hill, and rushes thence down the incline with great force. For this reason the ancient Romans<sup>2</sup> determined to surround the hill and the river bank near it with a wall, so that it might never be possible for an enemy to destroy the mills, and crossing the river, to carry on operations with ease against the circuit-wall of the city. So they decided to span the river at this point with a bridge, and to attach it to the wall; and by building many houses in the district across the river they caused the stream of the Tiber to be in the middle of the city. So much then for this.

And the Goths dug deep trenches about all their camps, and heaped up the earth, which they took out from them, on the inner side of the trenches, making this bank exceedingly high, and they planted great numbers of sharp stakes on the top,

<sup>1</sup> The Janiculum.

<sup>2</sup> The wall described was a part of the wall of Aurelian.

- φρουρίοις ὀχυρωμάτων τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα  
 12 εἰργάσαντο. καὶ χαρακώματος μὲν τοῦ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ Μαρκίας ἤρχεν (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ Γαλλιῶν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἀφῆκτο, ξὺν οἷς ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπέδευσε), τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Οὐίττιγισ ἡγείτο ἕκτος αὐτός· ἄρχων γὰρ ἦν εἰς κατὰ χαρακῶμα  
 13 ἕκαστον. Γότθοι μὲν οὖν<sup>1</sup> οὕτω ταξάμενοι διεῖλον τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἅπαντας, ὅπως δὴ ὕδωρ ὡς ἡκιστα ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνθένδε εἰσίοι. Ῥώμης δὲ ὀχετοὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν τὸ πληθὸς εἰσιν, ἐκ πλίνθου δὲ ὠπτημένης τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις πεποίηνται, ἐς τοσοῦτον εὖρους καὶ βάθους διήκοντες ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ ἵππῳ ὀχουμένῳ ἐνταῦθα ἰππεύειν δυ-  
 14 νατὰ εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως διεκόσμει ὥδε. πυλίδα μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν Πιγκιανὴν καὶ πύλην τὴν ταύτης ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶχεν,  
 15 ἡ Σαλαρία ὠνόμασται. κατὰ ταύτας γὰρ ἐπίμαχος ἦν ὁ περίβολος,<sup>2</sup> καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξιτητὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὄντα ἐτύγχανε. Πραίνεστίαν δὲ  
 16 Βέσσα ἔδωκε. καὶ τῇ Φλαμινίᾳ, ἡ Πιγκιανῆς ἐπὶ θύτερά ἐστι, Κωνσταντῖνον<sup>3</sup> ἐπέστησε, τὰς τε πύλας ἐπιθεῖς πρότερον, καὶ λίθων μεγάλων οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐνδοθεν αὐτὰς ἀποφράξας ὡς μάλιστα, ὅπως  
 17 δὴ αὐτὰς μηδενὶ ἀνακλίνειν δυνατὰ εἶη. τῶν γὰρ χαρακωμάτων ἐνὸς ἀγχοτάτῳ ὄντος ἔδεισε μή τις ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐνταῦθα  
 18 ἔσται. τὰς δὲ λειπομένας τῶν πεζικῶν καταλόγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαφυλάσσειν ἐκέλευε. τῶν τε ὀχετῶν ἕκαστον ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα οἰκοδομίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> οὖν K : om. L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπίμαχος ἦν ὁ περίβολος : ἐπιαχόμενος ἦν ὁ περίβολος K : ἐπίμαχος τε ὁ περίβολος ἦν L.

<sup>3</sup> Κωνστ. : κωνσταντιανὸν MSS.

thus making all their camps in no way inferior to fortified strongholds. And the camp in the Plain of Nero was commanded by Marcias (for he had by now arrived from Gaul with his followers, with whom he was encamped there), and the rest of the camps were commanded by Vittigis with five others; for there was one commander for each camp. So the Goths, having taken their positions in this way, tore open all the aqueducts, so that no water at all might enter the city from them. Now the aqueducts of Rome are fourteen in number, and were made of baked brick by the men of old, being of such breadth and height that it is possible for a man on horseback to ride in them.<sup>1</sup> And Belisarius arranged for the defence of the city in the following manner. He himself held the small Pincian Gate and the gate next to this on the right, which is named the Salarian. For at these gates the circuit-wall was assailable, and at the same time it was possible for the Romans to go out from them against the enemy. The Praenestine Gate he gave to Bessas. And at the Flaminian, which is on the other side of the Pincian, he put Constantinus in command, having previously closed the gates and blocked them up most securely by building a wall of great stones on the inside, so that it might be impossible for anyone to open them. For since one of the camps was very near, he feared least some secret plot against the city should be made there by the enemy. And the remaining gates he ordered the commanders of the infantry forces to keep under guard. And he closed each of the aqueducts as securely as possible by filling their channels with masonry for a consider-

<sup>1</sup> This is an exaggeration; the channels vary from four to eight feet in height.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐπὶ πλεῖστον κατέλαβε, μή τις ἔξωθεν κακουρ-  
γήσων ἐνταῦθα ἴοι.

- 19 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὀχετῶν, καθάπερ μοι εἴρηται,  
διαιρεθέντων οὐκέτι τὰς μύλας τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνήργει,  
ζώοις τέ τισιν ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὰς οὐδαμῇ εἶχον,  
τροφῆς ἀπάσης ἅτε ἐν πολιορκίᾳ σπανίζοντες, οἱ  
γε καὶ ἵππων μόλις τῶν σφίσιν ἀναγκαίων ἐδύ-  
20 ναντο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, Βελισάριος ἐξεῦρε τόδε. ἔμ-  
προσθεν τῆς γεφύρας ἧς ἄρτι πρὸς τῷ περιβόλῳ  
οὔσης ἐμνήσθην, σχοίνους ἀρτίσας ἐξ ἑκατέρας  
τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθης ὡς ἄριστα ἐντεταμένας, ταύ-  
ταις τε λέμβους δύο παρ' ἀλλήλους ξυνδήσας.  
πόδας δύο ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέχοντας, ἥ μάλιστα ἡ  
τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροὴ ἐκ τοῦ τῆς γεφύρας κυρτώ-  
ματος ἀκμάζουσα κατῇει, μύλας τε δύο ἐν λέμβῳ  
ἐκατέρῳ ἐνθέμενος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τὴν μηχανὴν  
21 ἀπεκρέμασεν ἢ τὰς μύλας στρέφειν εἰώθει. ἐπέ-  
κεινα δὲ ἄλλας τε ἀκάτους ἐχομένας τῶν αἰεὶ ὀπι-  
σθεν κατὰ λόγον ἐδέσμευε, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τρόπῳ  
22 τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνέβαλε. προϊούσης οὖν  
τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ρύμης αἱ μηχαναὶ ἐφεξῆς ἅπασαι  
ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς καλινδούμεναι ἐνήργουν τε τὰς κατ'  
αὐτὰς μύλας καὶ τῇ πόλει τὰ αὐτάρκη ἤλουν.  
ἃ δὲ οἱ πολέμοι πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων γιόντες  
23 ἀφανίζουσι τὰς μηχανὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. δένδρα  
μεγάλᾳ καὶ σώματι Ῥωμαίων νεοσφαγῇ ἐς τὸν  
24 ποταμὸν συμφοροῦντες ἐρρίπτον. τούτων τε τὰ  
πλεῖστα ξὺν τῷ ρεύματι ἐς μέσα τὰ σκάφη φερό-  
μενα τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπεκαύλιζε. Βελισάριος δὲ

able distance, to prevent anyone from entering through them from the outside to do mischief.

But after the aqueducts had been broken open, as I have stated, the water no longer worked the mills, and the Romans were quite unable to operate them with any kind of animals owing to the scarcity of all food in time of siege ; indeed they were scarcely able to provide for the horses which were indispensable to them. And so Belisarius hit upon the following device. Just below the bridge<sup>1</sup> which I lately mentioned as being connected with the circuit-wall, he fastened ropes from the two banks of the river and stretched them as tight as he could, and then attached to them two boats side by side and two feet apart, where the flow of the water comes down from the arch of the bridge with the greatest force, and placing two mills on either boat, he hung between them the mechanism by which mills are customarily turned. And below these he fastened other boats, each attached to the one next behind in order, and he set the water-wheels between them in the same manner for a great distance. So by the force of the flowing water all the wheels, one after the other, were made to revolve independently, and thus they worked the mills with which they were connected and ground sufficient flour for the city. Now when the enemy learned this from the deserters, they destroyed the wheels in the following manner. They gathered large trees and bodies of Romans newly slain and kept throwing them into the river ; and the most of these were carried with the current between the boats and broke off the mill-wheels. But Belisarius, observing what was being

<sup>1</sup> The Pons Aurelius. See section 10 of this chapter.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- κατιδὼν τὰ ποιούμενα προσεπετεχνήσατο τάδε.
- 25 ἀλύσεις μακρὰς<sup>1</sup> σιδηρὰς πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἤρτησεν, ἐξικνουμένας ἐς Τίβεριν ὅλον. αἷς δὲ προσπίπτοντα ξύμπαντα ὅσα ὁ ποταμὸς ἔφερε, ξυνίστατό τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἐχώρει.
- 26 ταῦτά τε ἀνέλκοντες αἰὲ οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔφερον. ταῦτα δὲ Βελισάριος ἐποίει οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν μυλῶν ἕνεκα ὅσον ὅτι ἐνθένδε ἐς δέος τε καὶ ἔννοιαν ἦλθε μὴ λάθωσιν ἀκάτοις πολλαῖς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐντὸς τῆς γεφύρας
- 27 καὶ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει γενόμενοι. οὕτω τε οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς πείρας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι ταύτῃ προὔχῳρει, ἀπέσχοντο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Ῥωμαῖοι τούτοις μὲν τοῖς μύλῳσιν ἐχρῶντο, τῶν δὲ βαλαρείων τοῦ ὕδατος τῇ ἀπορίᾳ παντάπασιν ἀπεκέκλειντο.
- 28 ὕδωρ μέντοι ὅσον πιεῖν διαρκὲς εἶχον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκοῦσι παρῆν ἐκ
- 29 φρεάτων ὑδρεύεσθαι. ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπονόμους, οἵπερ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴ τι οὐ καθαρὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν ἔξω, ἀσφάλειαν ἐπινοεῖν οὐδεμίαν ἠνάγκαστο, ἐπεὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχουσιν ἅπαντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεμίαν οἶόν τε τῇ πόλει ἐνθένδε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλήν γενέσθαι.

## XX

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν τῇδε Βελισάριος<sup>3</sup> διωκῆσατο.<sup>4</sup> Σαμριτῶν δὲ παῖδες πολλοί, πρόβατα ἐν χώρα τῇ σφετέρᾳ ποιμαίνοντες, δύο τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> μακρὰς L: om. K.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας Haury: πρὸς τῇ γεφύρᾳ MSS.

done, contrived the following device against it. He fastened above the bridge long iron chains, which reached completely across the Tiber. All the objects which the river brought down struck upon these chains, and gathered there and went no farther. And those to whom this work was assigned kept pulling out these objects as they came and bore them to the land. And Belisarius did this, not so much on account of the mills, as because he began to think with alarm that the enemy might get inside the bridge at this point with many boats and be in the middle of the city before their presence became known. Thus the barbarians abandoned the attempt, since they met with no success in it. And thereafter the Romans continued to use these mills; but they were entirely excluded from the baths because of the scarcity of water. However, they had sufficient water to drink, since even for those who lived very far from the river it was possible to draw water from wells. But as for the sewers, which carry out from the city whatever is unclean, Belisarius was not forced to devise any plan of safety, for they all discharge into the Tiber River, and therefore it was impossible for any plot to be made against the city by the enemy in connection with them.

## XX

Thus, then, did Belisarius make his arrangements for the siege. And among the Samnites a large company of children, who were pasturing flocks in

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<sup>3</sup> Βελισάριος Krašeninnikov : βελισαρίω MSS.

<sup>4</sup> διωκήσατο MSS.: διώκητο Scaliger.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- σώματος ἐν σφίσιν εὖ ἤκοντας ἀπολέξαντες, καὶ αὐτῶν ἓνα μὲν καλέσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Βελισαρίου ὀνόματος, Οὐίττιγιν δὲ τὸν ἕτερον ὀνομάσαντες,
- 2 παλαίειν ἐκέλευον. ὧν δὲ ἰσχυρότατα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθισταμένων, τὸν Οὐίττιγιν δῆθεν ξυνηνέχθη πεσεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν παίδων ὄμιλος
- 3 παίζοντες ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> δένδρου ἐκρήμινον. λύκου δὲ τύχη τινὲ ἐνταῦθα φανέντος οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἔφυγον ἅπαντες, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ δένδρου ἡρτημένος Οὐίττιγισ χρόνου οἱ τριβέντος ἐν ταύτῃ διὰ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ
- 4 θνήσκει. καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐς Σαμνίτας ἔκπυστα ἐγεγόνει, οὔτε κύλασίν τινα ἐς τὰ παιδία ταῦτα ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ξυμβαλόντες νικήσειν κατὰ κράτος Βελισάριον ἰσχυρίζοντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο.
- 5 Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὁ δῆμος, τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τε καὶ πολιορκίᾳ κακῶν ἀήθεις παντάπασιν ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ τῇ μὲν ἀλουσίᾳ ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, φυλάσσειν τε ἄϋπνοι τὸν περίβολον ἡναγκάζοντο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπαζον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐώρων τοὺς τε ἀγροὺς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ληϊζομένους, ἡσχαλλόν τε καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότες πολιορκοῖντό τε καὶ ἐς
- 6 τοσοῦτον κινδύνου μέγεθος ἤκοιεν. ἐν σφίσιν τε αὐτοῖς ξυνιστάμενοι Βελισαρίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐλοιδороῦντο, ὅς γε οὐκ ἀξιοχρεῶν πρὸς βασιλέως δύναμιν λαβὼν ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ Γότθους στρατεύε-
- 7 σθαι. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ βουλῆς ἦν σύγκλητον καλοῦσι Βελισαρίῳ ἐν παραβύστῳ ὠνείδιζον.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ MSS.: ἀπὸ editors.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ K: ἀπὸ L.

<sup>3</sup> εἰ L: οἱ K.

their own country, chose out two among them who were well favoured in strength of body, and calling one of them by the name of Belisarius, and naming the other Vittigis, bade them wrestle. And they entered into the struggle with the greatest vehemence and it so fell out that the one who impersonated Vittigis was thrown. Then the crowd of boys in play hung him to a tree. But a wolf by some chance appeared there, whereupon the boys all fled, and the one called Vittigis, who was suspended from the tree, remained for some time suffering this punishment and then died. And when this became known to the Samnites, they did not inflict any punishment upon these children, but divining the meaning of the incident declared that Belisarius would conquer decisively. So much for this.

But the populace of Rome were entirely unacquainted with the evils of war and siege. When, therefore, they began to be distressed by their inability to bathe and the scarcity of provisions, and found themselves obliged to forgo sleep in guarding the circuit-wall, and suspected that the city would be captured at no distant date; and when, at the same time, they saw the enemy plundering their fields and other possessions, they began to be dissatisfied and indignant that they, who had done no wrong, should suffer siege and be brought into peril of such magnitude. And gathering in groups by themselves, they railed openly against Belisarius, on the ground that he had dared to take the field against the Goths before he had received an adequate force from the emperor. And these reproaches against Belisarius were secretly indulged in also by the members of the council which

ἅπερ Οὐίττιγίς πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας  
 συγκρούειν τε αὐτοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθέλων καὶ ἐς  
 πολλὴναραχὴν ἐμπεσεῖσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγ-  
 ματα ταύτῃ οἶόμενος, πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον  
 8 ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἄλβιν ἐπεμψεν. οἳ, ἐπειδὴ ἐς  
 ὄψιν τὴν Βελισαρίου ἀφίκοντο, παρόντων Ῥω-  
 μαίων τε τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ  
 ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, ἔλεξαν τοιάδε·

“ Πάλαι, ὦ στρατηγέ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖ τε καὶ  
 καλῶς διώρισται τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόματα· ἐν  
 9 οἷς ἐν τόδε ἐστί, θράσος κεχώρισται ἀνδρείας. τὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἷς ἂν προσγένοιτο, ξὺν ἀτιμία ἐς  
 κίνδυνον ἄγει, τὸ δὲ δόξαν ἀρετῆς ἱκανῶς φέρεται.  
 10 τούτων θάτερόν σε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤνεγκεν, ὁπότερον  
 μέντοι, αὐτίκα δηλώσεις. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρεία  
 πιστεύων ἐπὶ Γότθους ἐστράτευσας, ὁρᾷς γὰρ  
 δῆπου ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατό-  
 πεδον καὶ σοι ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, ὦ γενναῖε, διαρκῶς  
 πάρεστιν· εἰ δέ γε θράσει ἐχόμενος ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς  
 ὥρμησαι, πάντως σοι καὶ μεταμέλει τῶν εἰκῇ  
 11 πεπραγμένων. τῶν γὰρ ἀπονενοημένων αἱ γινώ-  
 μαι, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι γένωνται, μετανοεῖν  
 φιλοῦσι. νῦν οὖν μήτε Ῥωμαίοις τοῖσδε περαι-  
 τέρω τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν μηκύνεσθαι ποίει, οὓς δὴ  
 Θεωδέρικος ἐν βίῳ τρυφερῷ τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐλευ-  
 θέρῳ ἐξέθρεψε, μήτε τῷ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιω-  
 12 τῶν δεσπότῃ ἐμποδῶν ἴστασο. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ

they call the senate. And Vittigis, hearing all this from the deserters and desiring to embroil them with one another still more, and thinking that in this way the affairs of the Romans would be thrown into great confusion, sent to Belisarius some envoys, among whom was Albis. And when these men came before Belisarius, they spoke as follows in the presence of the Roman senators and all the commanders of the army :

“ From of old, general, mankind has made true and proper distinctions in the names they give to things ; and one of these distinctions is this — rashness is different from bravery. For rashness, when it takes possession of a man, brings him into danger with discredit, but bravery bestows upon him an adequate prize in reputation for valour. Now one of these two has brought you against us, but which it is you will straightway make clear. For if, on the one hand, you placed your confidence in bravery when you took the field against the Goths, there is ample opportunity, noble sir, for you to do the deeds of a brave man, since you have only to look down from your wall to see the army of the enemy ; but if, on the other hand, it was because you were possessed by rashness that you came to attack us, certainly you now repent you of the reckless undertaking. For the opinions of those who have made a desperate venture are wont to undergo a change whenever they find themselves in serious straits. Now, therefore, do not cause the sufferings of these Romans to be prolonged any further, men whom Theoderic fostered in a life not only of soft luxury but also of freedom, and cease your resistance to him who is the master both of the Goths and of the Italians. Is it not monstrous that you



- ἄτοπον, σὲ μὲν οὕτω καθειργμένον τε καὶ τοὺς  
πολεμίους κατεπτηχότα ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθῆσθαι, τὸν  
δὲ ταύτης βασιλέα ἐν χαρακώματι διατρίβοντα  
τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κακὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ κατηκόους  
13 ἐργάζεσθαι; ἡμεῖς δὲ σοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις  
ποιεῖσθαι ἤδη τὴν ἄφοδον κατ' ἐξουσίαν παρέξο-  
μεν, ἅπαντα τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ  
ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς τὸ σῶφρον μεταμαθοῦσιν οὔτε  
ὅσιον οὔτε ἄξιον τρόπου τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου εἶναι  
14 νομίζομεν. ἡδέως δ' ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι ἐροίμεθα  
τούσδε, τί ποτε ἄρα Γύτθοις ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες  
ἡμᾶς τε αὖ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προὔδοσαν, οἳ γε τῆς  
μὲν ἡμετέρας ἐπιεικείας ἄχρι τοῦδε ἀπῆλανσαν,  
νῦν δὲ καὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπικουρίας εἰσὶν  
ἔμπειροι.”
- 15 Τοσαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον. Βελισάριος  
δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε· “Ὁ μὲν τῆς ξυμβουλῆς<sup>1</sup> και-  
ρὸς οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. γνώμη γὰρ τῶν πολε-  
μίων ἥκιστα εἰώθασι πολεμεῖν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ'  
αὐτόν τινα τὰ οἰκεῖα διατίθεσθαι νόμος, ὅπη ἂν  
16 αὐτῷ δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. φημὶ δὲ ὑμῖν ἀφί-  
ξεσθαι χρόνον ἡνίκα ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀκύνθαις βουλό-  
μενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς κρύπτεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔξετε.  
17 Ῥώμην μέντοι ἐλόντες ἡμεῖς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲν  
ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ταύτης τὰ πρότερα ἐπιβατεύ-  
σαντες, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκον, νῦν οὐχ ἐκόντες  
18 τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις ἀπέδοτε. ὅστις δὲ ὑμῶν  
Ῥώμης ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀμαχητὶ ἐπιβήσεσθαι, γνώμης  
ἀμαρτάνει. ζῶντα γὰρ Βελισάριον μεθήσεσθαι  
ταύτης ἀδύνατον.” τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ Βελισάριος  
19 εἶπε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι ἡσυχῇ

<sup>1</sup> ξυμβουλῆς K and editors: ξυμβολῆς L.

should sit in Rome hemmed in as you are and in abject terror of the enemy, while the king of this city passes his time in a fortified camp and inflicts the evils of war upon his own subjects? But we shall give both you and your followers an opportunity to take your departure forthwith in security, retaining all your possessions. For to trample upon those who have learned to take a new view of prudence we consider neither holy nor worthy of the ways of men. And, further, we should gladly ask these Romans what complaints they could have had against the Goths that they betrayed both us and themselves, seeing that up to this time they have enjoyed our kindness, and now are acquainted by experience with the assistance to be expected from you."

Thus spoke the envoys. And Belisarius replied as follows: "It is not to rest with you to choose the moment for conference. For men are by no means wont to wage war according to the judgment of their enemies, but it is customary for each one to arrange his own affairs for himself, in whatever manner seems to him best. But I say to you that there will come a time when you will want to hide your heads under the thistles but will find no shelter anywhere. As for Rome, moreover, which we have captured, in holding it we hold nothing which belongs to others, but it was you who trespassed upon this city in former times, though it did not belong to you at all, and now you have given it back, however unwillingly, to its ancient possessors. And whoever of you has hopes of setting foot in Rome without a fight is mistaken in his judgment. For as long as Belisarius lives, it is impossible for him to relinquish this city." Such were the words of Belisarius. But the Romans,

ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀντιλέγειν ἐτόλμων, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐς Γότθους προδοσίᾳ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν κακιζόμενοι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι  
 20) Φιδέλιος αὐτοὺς ἐρεσχελεῖν ἔγνω. ὃς τότε τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπαρχος καταστὰς πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντων μάλιστα ἔδοξε βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν.

XXI

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἐκομίζοντο. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν Οὐίττιγισ ἐπυρθάνετο ὁποῖός τε ἀνὴρ Βελισάριος εἴη καὶ γνώμης ὅπως ποτὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσει ἔχοι,<sup>1</sup> ἀπεκρίναντο ὥς οὐκ εἰκότα Γότθοι ἐλπίζουσι, δεδίξεσθαι Βελισάριον ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ οἴ-  
 2) μνοι. Οὐίττιγισ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας τειχομαχεῖν τε πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ  
 3) περιβόλου ἐπιβουλήν ἐξηρτύετο ὧδε. πύργους ξυλίνους ἐποίησατο ἴσους τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μέτρου πολλάκις  
 4) ξυμμετρησάμενος ταῖς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς πύργοις τροχοὶ ἐς τὴν βάσιν ἐμβεβλημένοι πρὸς γωνία ἐκάστη ὑπέκειντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς κυλινδούμενοι ῥᾶστα περιάξιν ἔμελλον ὅπη οἱ τειχομαχοῦντες αἰεὶ βούλοιντο, καὶ βόες  
 5) τοὺς πύργους ξυνδεδεμένοι εἴλκον. ἔπειτα δὲ κλίμακας πολλὰς τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐξικνουμένας ἡτοιμάζε καὶ μηχανὰς  
 6) τέσσαρας αἱ κριοὶ καλοῦνται. ἔστι δὲ ἡ μηχανή

<sup>1</sup> τῇ . . . ἀναχωρήσει ἔχοι K : τὴν . . . ἀναχώρησιν ἔχων L.

being overcome by a great fear, sat in silence, and, even though they were abused by the envoys at length for their treason to the Goths, dared make no reply to them, except, indeed, that Fidelius saw fit to taunt them. This man was then praetorian prefect, having been appointed to the office by Belisarius, and for this reason he seemed above all others to be well disposed toward the emperor.

## XXI

THE envoys then betook themselves to their own army. And when Vittigis enquired of them what manner of man Belisarius was and how his purpose stood with regard to the question of withdrawing from Rome, they replied that the Goths were hoping for vain things if they supposed that they would frighten Belisarius in any way whatsoever. And when Vittigis heard this, he began in great earnest to plan an assault upon the wall, and the preparations he made for the attempt upon the fortifications were as follows. He constructed wooden towers equal in height to the enemy's wall, and he discovered its true measure by making many calculations based upon the courses of stone. And wheels were attached to the floor of these towers under each corner, which were intended, as they turned, to move the towers to any point the attacking army might wish at a given time, and the towers were drawn by oxen yoked together. After this he made ready a great number of ladders, that would reach as far as the parapet, and four engines which are called rams. Now this

τοιαύτη. κίονες ὀρθοὶ ξύλινοι τέσσαρες ἀντίοι  
 τε καὶ ἴσοι ἀλλήλοις ἐστᾶσι. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς  
 κίοσι δοκοὺς ὀκτῶ ἐγκαρσίας ἐνείροντες τέσσαρας  
 μὲν ἄνω, τοσαύτας δὲ πρὸς ταῖς βάσεσιν ἐναρμό-  
 7 ζουσιν. οἰκίσκου τε σχῆμα τετραγώνου ἐργαζύ-  
 μενοι προκάλυμμα πανταχόθεν ἀντὶ τοίχων τε  
 καὶ τείχους διφθέρας αὐτῷ περιβάλλουσιν, ὅπως  
 ἢ τε μηχανὴ τοῖς ἔλκουσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐλαφρὰ εἴη καὶ οἱ  
 ἔνδον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ὦσιν, ὥς πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων  
 8 ἤκιστα βάλλεσθαι. ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῆς δοκὸν ἑτέραν  
 ἄνωθεν ἐγκαρσίαν ἀρτήσαντες χαλαραῖς ταῖς  
 ἀλύσεσι κατὰ μέσσην μάλιστα τὴν μηχανὴν ἔχου-  
 σιν. ἥς δὴ ὀξεῖαν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄκραν, σιδήρῳ  
 πολλῷ καθάπερ ἀκίδα καλύπτουσι βέλους, ἢ<sup>2</sup>  
 καὶ τετράγωνον, ὥσπερ ἄκμονα, τὸν σίδηρον  
 9 ποιοῦσι. καὶ τροχοῖς μὲν ἡ μηχανὴ τέσσαρσι  
 πρὸς κίονι ἐκάστῳ κειμένοις ἐπῆρται, ἄνδρες δὲ  
 αὐτὴν οὐχ ἡσσουν ἢ κατὰ πεντήκοντα κινοῦσιν  
 10 ἔνδοθεν. οἱ ἐπειδὰν αὐτὴν τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσωσι,  
 τὴν δοκὸν ἥς δὴ ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην μηχανῇ τινι  
 στρέφοντες ὀπίσω ἀνέλκουσιν, αὐθὶς τε αὐτὴν  
 11 ξὺν ῥύμῃ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφιάσιν. ἡ δὲ  
 συχνὰ ἐμβαλλομένη κατασεῖσαί τε ὅπη προσπί-  
 πτοι καὶ διελεῖν ῥᾶστα<sup>3</sup> οἷα τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἡ μηχανὴ ἔχει, ἐπεὶ  
 τῆς δοκοῦ ταύτης ἡ ἐμβολὴ προὔχουσα πλήσσειν  
 ὅπου παρατύχοι, καθάπερ τῶν προβάτων τὰ ἄρ-  
 12 ρενα, εἶωθε. τῶν μὲν οὖν τειχομαχούντων οἱ κριοὶ  
 13 τοιοῖδε εἰσὶ. Γότθοι δὲ πάμπολύ τι φακέλλων  
 χρῆμα ἔκ τε ξύλων καὶ καλάμων ποιησάμενοι ἐν

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἔλκουσιν L: om. K.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ: οἱ K, ἢ L. <sup>3</sup> ῥᾶστα L: om. K.

engine is of the following sort. Four upright wooden beams, equal in length, are set up opposite one another. To these beams they fit eight horizontal timbers, four above and an equal number at the base, thus binding them together. After they have thus made the frame of a four-sided building, they surround it on all sides, not with walls of wood or stone, but with a covering of hides, in order that the engine may be light for those who draw it and that those within may still be in the least possible danger of being shot by their opponents. And on the inside they hang another horizontal beam from the top by means of chains which swing free, and they keep it at about the middle of the interior. They then sharpen the end of this beam and cover it with a large iron head, precisely as they cover the round point of a missile, or they sometimes make the iron head square like an anvil. And the whole structure is raised upon four wheels, one being attached to each upright beam, and men to the number of no fewer than fifty to each ram move it from the inside. Then when they apply it to the wall, they draw back the beam which I have just mentioned by turning a certain mechanism, and then they let it swing forward with great force against the wall. And this beam by frequent blows is able quite easily to batter down and tear open a wall wherever it strikes, and it is for this reason that the engine has the name it bears, because the striking end of the beam, projecting as it does, is accustomed to butt against whatever it may encounter, precisely as do the males among sheep. Such, then, are the rams used by the assailants of a wall. And the Goths were holding in readiness an exceedingly great number of bundles of faggots,



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

παρασκευῇ εἶχον, ὅπως δὴ ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβα-  
λόντες ὁμαλόν τε τὸν χῶρον ἐργάσωνται καὶ  
ταύτῃ διαβαίνειν αἱ μηχαναὶ ἥκιστα εἴργωνται.  
οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γότθοι παρασκευασάμενοι τειχομα-  
χεῖν ὥρμητο.

- 14 Βελισάριος δὲ μηχανὰς μὲν ἐς τοὺς πύργους<sup>1</sup>  
ἐτίθετο ὥς καλοῦσι βαλλίστρας. τόξου δὲ σχῆμα  
ἔχουσιν αἱ μηχαναὶ αὗται, ἐνερθέν τε αὐτοῦ κοίλη  
τις ξυλίνη<sup>2</sup> κεραία προὔχει, αὐτὴ μὲν χαλαρὰ  
ἡρτημένη, σιδηρᾷ δὲ εὐθείᾳ τινὶ ἐπικειμένη.  
15 ἐπειδὴν οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνθένδε βάλλειν ἐθέ-  
λουσιν ἄνθρωποι, βρόχου βραχέος ἐνέρσει τὰ  
ξύλα ἐς ἄλληλα νεύειν ποιοῦσιν ἃ δὴ τοῦ τόξου  
ἄκρα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, τὸν τε ἄτρακτον ἐν τῇ  
κοίλῃ κεραίᾳ τίθενται, τῶν ἄλλων βελῶν, ἅπερ  
ἐκ τῶν τόξων ἀφιαῖσι, μῆκος μὲν ἔχοντα ἡμισυ  
16 μάλιστα, εὖρος δὲ κατὰ τετραπλάσιον. πτεροῖς  
μέντοι οὐ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἐνέχεται, ἀλλὰ ξύλα  
λεπτὰ ἐς τῶν πτερῶν τὴν χώραν ἐνείροντες ὅλον  
ἀπομιμοῦνται τοῦ βέλους τὸ σχῆμα, μεγάλην  
αὐτῷ λίαν καὶ τοῦ πάχους κατὰ λόγον τὴν ἀκίδα  
17 ἐμβάλλοντες. σφίγγουσί τε σθένει<sup>3</sup> πολλῶ οἱ<sup>4</sup>  
ἀμφοτέρωθεν μηχαναῖς τισι, καὶ τότε ἡ κοίλη  
κεραία προιοῦσα ἐκπίπτει<sup>5</sup> μὲν, ξὺν ῥύμῃ δὲ  
τοσαύτῃ ἐκπίπτει τὸ βέλος ὥστε ἐξικνεῖται μὲν

<sup>1</sup> πύργους K in margin, L: γότθους K in context.

<sup>2</sup> ξυλίνη K: om. L.

<sup>3</sup> σθένει added by Haury: om. MSS, πόνφ Christ.

<sup>4</sup> οἱ L: ἡ K.

<sup>5</sup> The sense (see translation) seems to require ἐκλείπει or the like.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the description of the ballista and other engines of war in Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII. iv. The engine here

which they had made of pieces of wood and reeds, in order that by throwing them into the moat they might make the ground level, and that their engines might not be prevented from crossing it. Now after the Goths had made their preparations in this manner, they were eager to make an assault upon the wall.

But Belisarius placed upon the towers engines which they call "ballistae."<sup>1</sup> Now these engines have the form of a bow, but on the under side of them a grooved wooden shaft projects; this shaft is so fitted to the bow that it is free to move, and rests upon a straight iron bed. So when men wish to shoot at the enemy with this, they make the parts of the bow which form the ends bend toward one another by means of a short rope fastened to them, and they place in the grooved shaft the arrow, which is about one half the length of the ordinary missiles which they shoot from bows, but about four times as wide. However, it does not have feathers of the usual sort attached to it, but by inserting thin pieces of wood in place of feathers, they give it in all respects the form of an arrow, making the point which they put on very large and in keeping with its thickness. And the men who stand on either side wind it up tight by means of certain appliances, and then the grooved shaft shoots forward and stops, but the missile is discharged from the shaft,<sup>2</sup> and with such force that it

described by Procopius is the catapult of earlier times; the *ballista* hurled stones, not arrows. See the *Classical Dictionary* for illustrations.

The "shaft" is a holder for the missile, and it (not the missile) is driven by the bowstring. When the holder stops, the missile goes on.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- οὐχ ἦσσον ἢ κατὰ δύο τῆς τοξείας βολάς, δένδρου  
 18 δὲ ἢ λίθου ἐπιτυχὸν τέμνει ραδίως. τοιαύτη μὲν  
 ἢ μηχανή ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου, ὅτι δι-  
 βάλλει ὡς μάλιστα, ἐπικληθεῖσα. ἑτέρας δὲ  
 μηχανὰς ἐπήξαντο ἐν ταῖς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπάλ-  
 19 ξεσιν ἐς λίθων βολὰς ἐπιτηδείας. σφεινδόνη δὲ  
 αὐταῖ ἐῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς καὶ ὄναγροι ἐπικαλοῦνται.  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς πύλαις λύκους ἔξω ἐπετίθεντο, οὓς δι-  
 20 ποιοῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. δοκοὺς δύο ἰστᾶσιν ἐκ  
 γῆς ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐξικνουμένας, ξύλα  
 τε εἰργασμένα ἐπ' ἄλληλα θέμενοι τὰ μὲν ὀρθά,  
 τὰ δὲ ἐγκάρσια ἐναρμόζουσιν, ὡς τῶν ἐνέρσεων  
 τὰ ἐν μέσῳ εἰς ἄλληλα<sup>1</sup> τρυπήματα φαίνεσθαι.  
 21 ἐκάστης δὲ ἁρμονίας ἐμβολή τις προὔχει, κέντρῳ  
 παχεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐμφερῆς οὔσα. καὶ τῶν  
 ξύλων τὰ ἐγκάρσια ἐς δοκὸν ἑκατέραν πηξάμενοι,  
 ἄνωθεν ἄχρι ἐς μοῖραν διήκοντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν,  
 ὑπτίας τὰς δοκοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνακλίνουσι.  
 22 καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> ἐγγυτέρῳ οἱ πολέμοι ἴκωνται,  
 οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἄκρων δοκῶν ἀψάμενοι ὠθοῦσιν,  
 αὐταὶ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπί-  
 πτουςαι τοῖς προέχουσι τῶν ἐμβολῶν, ὅσους ἂν  
 λάβοιεν, εὐπετῶς κτείνουσι. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν  
 ταῦτα ἐποίει.

<sup>1</sup> ἄλληλα Capps : ἀλλήλοις MSS.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν Haury : αὐτῶ K, αὐτῆς L.

attains the distance of not less than two bow-shots, and that, when it hits a tree or a rock, it pierces it easily. Such is the engine which bears this name, being so called because it shoots with very great force.<sup>1</sup> And they fixed other engines along the parapet of the wall adapted for throwing stones. Now these resemble slings and are called "wild asses."<sup>2</sup> And outside the gates they placed "wolves,"<sup>3</sup> which they make in the following manner. They set up two timbers which reach from the ground to the battlements; then they fit together beams which have been mortised to one another, placing some upright and others crosswise, so that the spaces between the intersections appear as a succession of holes. And from every joint there projects a kind of beak, which resembles very closely a thick goad. Then they fasten the cross-beams to the two upright timbers, beginning at the top and letting them extend half way down, and then lean the timbers back against the gates. And whenever the enemy come up near them, those above lay hold of the ends of the timbers and push, and these, falling suddenly upon the assailants, easily kill with the projecting beaks as many as they may catch. So Belisarius was thus engaged.

<sup>1</sup> A popular etymology of *βάλλιστρα*, a corrupted form of *βόλλιστρα*; the point is in the Greek words *βάλλω* + *μάλιστρα*, an etymology correct only as far as *βάλλω* is concerned.

<sup>2</sup> Called also "scorpions"; described by Ammianus, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> This contrivance was not one familiar to classical times. The "lupi" of Livy XXVIII. iii. were hooks; Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, ii. 25 and iv. 23, mentions "lupi" (also hooks), used to put a battering-ram out of action.

XXII

Γότθοι δὲ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας  
 ἡμέρα, Οὐιππίγιδος σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, ἀμφὶ ἡλίου  
 ἀνατολὰς ὡς τειχομαχίσοντες ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> τὸν περίβολον  
 ἦσαν, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας προΐουσα ἢ τῶν  
 πύργων τε καὶ κριῶν ὄψις παντάπασί τε ἀήθης  
 2 οὐσα ἐξέπλησσε. Βελισάριος δὲ βαδίζουσιν ξυν-  
 ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὁρῶν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν,  
 ἐγέλα τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευε,  
 καὶ τῶν χειρῶν μηδαμῶς ἄρχειν, ἕως αὐτὸς  
 σημήνῃ. ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα γελῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα  
 3 ἦκιστα ἐδήλου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐγνώσθη. Ῥωμαῖοι  
 μέντοι αὐτὸν εἰρωνεύεσθαι ὑποτοπιάσαντες ἐκά-  
 κιζόν τε καὶ ἀναιδῇ ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ πρόσω  
 ἰόντας οὐκ ἀναστέλλοι τοὺς ἐναντίους, δεινὰ  
 4 ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ Γότθοι τῆς τάφρου ἐγγυτέρω  
 ἴκοντο, πρῶτος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ τόξον ἐντείνας,  
 τῶν<sup>2</sup> τινὰ τεθωρακισμένων<sup>3</sup> τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς  
 5 ἡγουμένων<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸν αὐχένα ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει. καὶ  
 ὁ μὲν καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔπεσεν ὑπτίως, Ῥωμαίων  
 δὲ ὁ λεὼς ἅπας ἀνέκραγον ἐξαίσιον τε καὶ ἀκοῆς  
 κρεῖσσοι, ἄριστον οἰωνὸν ξυνερεχθῆναι σφίσιν  
 6 οἰόμενοι. δις δὲ Βελισαρίου τὸ βέλος ἀφέντος,  
 ταῦτό τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις ξυνέβη, καὶ ἢ τε κραυγὴ  
 μείζων ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἦρθη καὶ τοῖς πο-  
 7 λεμίους ἡσσήσθαι ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ᾤοντο. καὶ τότε  
 μὲν Βελισάριος τῇ μὲν στρατιᾷ πάσῃ κινεῖν τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ L: ἀμφὶ K.      <sup>2</sup> τῶν L: τὸν K, αὐτῶν editors.

<sup>3</sup> τεθωρακισμένων Kraseninnikov: τεθωρακισμένοι MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἡγουμένων Kraseninnikov: ἡγούμενον MSS.

## XXII

ON the eighteenth day from the beginning of the siege the Goths moved against the fortifications at about sunrise under the leadership of Vittigis in order to assault the wall, and all the Romans were struck with consternation at the sight of the advancing towers and rams, with which they were altogether unfamiliar. But Belisarius, seeing the ranks of the enemy as they advanced with the engines, began to laugh, and commanded the soldiers to remain quiet and under no circumstances to begin fighting until he himself should give the signal. Now the reason why he laughed he did not reveal at the moment, but later it became known. The Romans, however, supposing him to be hiding his real feelings by a jest, abused him and called him shameless, and were indignant that he did not try to check the enemy as they came forward. But when the Goths came near the moat, the general first of all stretched his bow and with a lucky aim hit in the neck and killed one of the men in armour who were leading the army on. And he fell on his back mortally wounded, while the whole Roman army raised an extraordinary shout such as was never heard before, thinking that they had received an excellent omen. And twice did Belisarius send forth his bolt, and the very same thing happened again a second time, and the shouting rose still louder from the circuit-wall, and the Romans thought that the enemy were conquered already. Then Belisarius gave the signal for the



- τοξεύματα πάντα ἐσήμαινε, τοὺς δὲ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας ἐς μόνους τοὺς βόας ἐκέλευε βάλλειν.
- 8 πάντων τε τῶν βοῶν αὐτίκα πεσόντων, οὔτε τοὺς πύργους περαιτέρω κινεῖν οἱ πολέμοι εἶχον οὔτε τι ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι ἀπορούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ
- 9 οἰοί τε ἦσαν. οὕτω δὲ Βελισαρίου τε ἡ πρόνοια ἐγνώσθη τοῦ μὴ ἐκαστάτῳ ὄντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναστέλλειν πειρᾶσθαι, καὶ ὅτι γελῶν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων εὐήθειαν, οἱ δὲ βόας περιάξειν ἐς τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ τεῖχος οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐλπίδα εἶχον. ταῦτα μὲν ἄμφι Σαλαρίαν<sup>1</sup> πύλην ἐγένετο.
- 10 Οὐίτιγισ δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποκρουσθεὶς, Γότθων μὲν στρατιὰν πολλὴν αὐτοῦ εἶασε, φάλαγγα δὲ αὐτῶν βαθεῖαν κομιδῇ ποιησάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιστείλας προσβολὴν μὲν μηδαμῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ποιεῖσθαι, μένοντας δὲ ἐν τάξει βάλλειν τε συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ ὡς ἡκιστα Βελισαρίῳ καιρὸν ἐνδιδόναι ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐτέρωσε<sup>2</sup> τοῦ τεύχους ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸς προσβάλλειν μέλλῃ στρατῷ πλείονι, οὕτω δὲ ἄμφι πύλην Πραυνεστίναν ἐπὶ μοῖραν τοῦ περιβόλου ἦν Ῥωμαῖοι Βιβάριον καλοῦσι, καὶ ἥ τὸ τεῖχος ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατον μάλιστα,
- 11 πολλῷ στρατῷ ἦει. ἐτύγχανον δὲ ἤδη καὶ μηχαναὶ ἄλλαι πύργων τε καὶ κριῶν καὶ κλίμακες πολλαὶ ἐνταῦθα οὔσαι.
- 12 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γότθων προσβολὴ ἑτέρα ἐς πύλην Αὐρηλίαν ἐγένετο τρώπῳ τοιῷδε. Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος τάφος ἔξω πύλης Αὐρηλίας ἐστίν, ἀπέχων τοῦ περιβόλου ὅσον
- 13 λίθου βολήν, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. πεποί-

<sup>1</sup> σαλαρίαν K: βελισαρίαν L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτέρωσε Haurv: ἐτέρωθεν MSS.

whole army to put their bows into action, but those near himself he commanded to shoot only at the oxen. And all the oxen fell immediately, so that the enemy could neither move the towers further nor in their perplexity do anything to meet the emergency while the fighting was in progress. In this way the forethought of Belisarius in not trying to check the enemy while still at a great distance came to be understood, as well as the reason why he had laughed at the simplicity of the barbarians, who had been so thoughtless as to hope to bring oxen up to the enemy's wall. Now all this took place at the Salarian Gate. But Vittigis, repulsed at this point, left there a large force of Goths, making of them a very deep phalanx and instructing the commanders on no condition to make an assault upon the fortifications, but remaining in position to shoot rapidly at the parapet, and give Belisarius no opportunity whatever to take reinforcements to any other part of the wall which he himself might propose to attack with a superior force; he then went to the Praenestine Gate with a great force, to a part of the fortifications which the Romans call the "Vivarium,"<sup>1</sup> where the wall was most assailable. Now it so happened that engines of war were already there, including towers and rams and a great number of ladders.

But in the meantime another Gothic assault was being made at the Aurelian Gate<sup>2</sup> in the following manner. The tomb of the Roman Emperor Hadrian<sup>3</sup> stands outside the Aurelian Gate, removed about a stone's throw from the fortifications, a very note-

<sup>1</sup> See chap. xxiii. 15-17 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius errs again (cf. chap. xix. 4). He means the Porta Cornelia.

<sup>3</sup> Now called Castello di Sant' Angelo.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ηται γὰρ ἐκ λίθου Παρίου καὶ οἱ λίθοι ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις<sup>1</sup> μεμύκασιν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐντὸς ἔχοντες. πλευραί τε αὐτοῦ τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις, εὖρος μὲν σχεδόν τι ἐς λίθου βολὴν ἐκάστη ἔχουσα, μῆκος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τείχους.
- 14 ἀγάλματά τε ἄνω ἐκ λίθου εἰσὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων θαυμάσια οἷα. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τάφον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι (ἐδόκει γὰρ τῇ πόλει ἐπιτείχισμα εἶναι) τειχίσμασι δύο ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου διήκουσι περιβάλλουσι καὶ μέρος
- 15 εἶναι τοῦ τείχους πεποίηται. ὅμοιος γοῦν πύργῳ ὑψηλῷ πύλης τῆς ἐκείνῃ προβεβλημένῳ. ἦν μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐνταῦθα ὀχύρωμα ἱκανώτατον. τούτου<sup>2</sup> δὲ τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ Κωνσταντῖνον<sup>3</sup> ἐπιστήσας
- 16 Βελισάριος ἔτυχεν. ὃ δὲ ἐπέστειλε καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τείχους τοῦ ἐχομένου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, φαύλην τινὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἔχοντος. ἥκιστα γὰρ ταύτῃ ἐπιμάχου ὄντος τοῦ περιβόλου, ἅτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραρρέοντος, οὐδεμίαν αὐτόθι προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσας, οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων, τοῖς τῶν χωρίων ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τὸ πλήθος ἐνειμεν. ἐς πεντακισχιλίους γὰρ μάλιστα τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα ἐν
- 17 'Ρώμῃ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆσδε τῆς πολιορκίας ξυνῆει.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις K: ἐς ἀλλήλους L.

<sup>2</sup> τούτου Maltretus: τούτω MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανὸν MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. no mortar or other binding material.

<sup>2</sup> The square structure was the base of the monument, each side measuring 300 Roman feet in length and 85 feet in

worthy sight. For it is made of Parian marble, and the stones fit closely one upon the other, having nothing at all<sup>1</sup> between them. And it has four sides which are all equal, each being about a stone's throw in length, while their height exceeds that of the city wall; and above there are statues of the same marble, representing men and horses, of wonderful workmanship.<sup>2</sup> But since this tomb seemed to the men of ancient times a fortress threatening the city, they enclosed it by two walls, which extend to it from the circuit-wall,<sup>3</sup> and thus made it a part of the wall. And, indeed, it gives the appearance of a high tower built as a bulwark before the gate there. So the fortifications at that point were most adequate. Now Constantinus, as it happened, had been appointed by Belisarius to have charge of the garrison at this tomb. And he had instructed him also to attend to the guarding of the adjoining wall, which had a small and inconsiderable garrison. For, since that part of the circuit-wall was the least assailable of all, because the river flows along it, he supposed that no assault would be made there, and so stationed an insignificant garrison at that place, and, since the soldiers he had were few, he assigned the great majority to the positions where there was most need of them. For the emperor's army gathered in Rome at the beginning of this siege amounted at most to

height. Above this rose a cylindrical drum, surrounded by columns and carrying the statues, and perhaps capped by a conical drum. For details see Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, iii. 663 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Procopius neglects to say that the tomb was across the river from the circuit-wall at this point, at the end of a bridge (Pons Aelius) which faced the gate (Porta Cornelia) which he calls the Aurelian Gate.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 18 Κωνσταντῖνος<sup>1</sup> δὲ (καὶ γάρ οἱ ἠγγέλλοντο οἱ πολέμιοι τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἰβερὶν ἀποπειρώμενοι διαβάσεως) δείσας περὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ τειχίσματι αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τάχος ἐκείσε ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐβοήθει, τοῖς δὲ πλείοσι τῆς ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τε καὶ τῷ τάφῳ
- 19 φρουρᾶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παρήγγελλεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Γότθοι πύλῃ τῇ Λύρηλῃ καὶ τῷ Ἀδριανῷ πύργῳ προσέβαλλον, μηχανὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, κλιμάκων δὲ πάμπολύ τι ἐπαγόμενοι χρήμα καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει ῥᾶον ἔς τε ἀπορίαν καταστήσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους οἴομενοι καὶ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου κρατήσῃν δι' ὀλιγανθρω-
- 20 πῖαν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. θύρας δὲ προβεβλημένοι ἐβάδιζον, οὐδὲν ἐλασσουμένας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις θυρεῶν,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀγχοτάτω
- 21 αὐτῶν ἦκοντες. ὑπὸ γὰρ τῇ στοῇ κρυπτόμενοι ἦλθον<sup>3</sup> ἢ ἐς τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεὼν διήκει. ἐνθένδε φανέντες ἑξαπιναίως ἔργου εἶχοντο, ὥς μήτε τῇ καλουμένῃ βαλλίστρᾳ χρῆσθαι τοὺς φύλακας οἷους τε εἶναι (οὐ γὰρ πέμπουσιν ὅτι μὴ<sup>4</sup> ἐξ ἐναντίας αἱ μηχαναὶ αὐταὶ τὰ βέλη) οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς τοξεύμασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι, τοῦ πράγματος σφίσι διὰ τὰς θύρας
- 22 ἀντιστατοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καρτερώς τε οἱ Γότθοι ἐνέκειντο, βάλλοντες συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἤδη προσθήσειν τῷ τειχίσματι ἔμελλον, κυκλώσαντες σχεδὸν τι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀμυνομένους, αἰὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ χωρήσειαν, κατὰ νώτου ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐγίνοντο, χρόνον μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανὸς MSS.

<sup>2</sup> θυρεῶν K: δέρρεων L, γέρρων Scaliger.

<sup>3</sup> ἦλθον K: ἔλαθον L.

<sup>4</sup> ὅτι μὴ L: om. K.

only five thousand men. But since it was reported to Constantinus that the enemy were attempting the crossing of the Tiber, he became fearful for that part of the fortifications and went thither himself with all speed, accompanied by some few men to lend assistance, commanding the greater part of his men to attend to the guarding of the gate and the tomb. But meanwhile the Goths began an assault upon the Aurelian Gate and the Tower of Hadrian, and though they had no engines of war, they brought up a great quantity of ladders, and thought that by shooting a vast number of arrows they would very easily reduce the enemy to a state of helplessness and overpower the garrison there without any trouble on account of its small numbers. And as they advanced, they held before them shields no smaller than the long shields used by the Persians, and they succeeded in getting very close to their opponents without being perceived by them. For they came hidden under the colonnade which extends<sup>1</sup> to the church of the Apostle Peter. From that shelter they suddenly appeared and began the attack, so that the guards were neither able to use the engine called the ballista (for these engines do not send their missiles except straight out), nor, indeed, could they ward off their assailants with their arrows, since the situation was against them on account of the large shields. But the Goths kept pressing vigorously upon them, shooting many missiles at the battlements, and they were already about to set their ladders against the wall, having practically surrounded those who were fighting from the tomb; for whenever the Goths advanced they always got in the rear of the Romans

<sup>1</sup> From the Pons Aelius.



τινα ὀλίγον ἔκπληξιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο οὐκ ἔχουσι<sup>1</sup> καθ' ὃ τι χρή ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι, μετὰ δὲ συμφρονήσαντες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα, μεγάλα λίαν ὄντα, διέφθειρον, αἶροντές τε λίθους περιπληθεῖς ἐνθένδε χερσὶν ἀμφοτέrais κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρίπτουν, οἱ  
 23 δὲ βαλλόμενοι ἐνεδίδοσαν. κατὰ βραχὺ τε αὐτῶν ὑποχωρούντων, τὸ πλεόν ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ἔχοντες, ἐθάρσησάν τε καὶ ξὺν βοῇ μείζονι τόξοις τε καὶ λίθων βολαῖς τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας ἡμύ-  
 24 νοντο. καὶ τῶν μηχανῶν ἰψάμενοι ἐς δέος μέγα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤγον, ἥ τε προσβολὴ αὐτῶν δι'  
 25 ὀλίγου ἐγένετο. παρὴν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος<sup>2</sup> δεδιξάμενός τε τοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποπειρασμένους καὶ ῥηδίως ὠσάμενος, ἐπεὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἀφύλακτον, ὥσπερ ᾤοντο, τὸ ἐκείνη τείχισμα εὔρον. οὕτω τε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ ἀμφὶ πύλιν Αὐρηλίαν ἐγένετο.

XXIII

Ἐς μέντοι πύλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν, ἥ Παγκρατιανὴ καλεῖται, δύναμις τῶν πολεμίων ἐλθοῦσα οὐδὲν ὃ τι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου ἔδρασε, χωρίου ἰσχυροῦ ἀνάντης τε γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους οὐκ εὐπετὴς ταύτη ὁ τῆς πόλεως περί-  
 2 βολός ἐστι. Παῦλος ἐνταῦθα φυλακὴν εἶχε, ξὺν καταλόγῳ πεζικῷ οὐ αὐτὸς ἦρχεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἔχουσι Haury : ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Κωνστ. : κωνσταντιανὸς MSS.

on both flanks<sup>1</sup>; and for a short time consternation fell upon the Romans, who knew not what means of defence they should employ to save themselves, but afterwards by common agreement they broke in pieces the most of the statues, which were very large, and taking up great numbers of stones thus secured, threw them with both hands down upon the heads of the enemy, who gave way before this shower of missiles. And as they retreated a little way, the Romans, having by now the advantage, plucked up courage, and with a mighty shout began to drive back their assailants by using their bows and hurling stones at them. And putting their hands to the engines, they reduced their opponents to great fear, and their assault was quickly ended. And by this time Constantinus also was present, having frightened back those who had tried the river and easily driven them off, because they did not find the wall there entirely unguarded, as they had supposed they would. And thus safety was restored at the Aurelian Gate.<sup>2</sup>

### XXIII

BUT at the gate beyond the Tiber River, which is called the Pancratan Gate, a force of the enemy came, but accomplished nothing worth mentioning because of the strength of the place; for the fortifications of the city at this point are on a steep elevation and are not favourably situated for assaults. Paulus was keeping guard there with an infantry detachment which he commanded in person. In

<sup>1</sup> Because of the quadrangular shape of the building the Goths were able to take their enemy in flank and in rear by advancing beyond the corners.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the Cornelian.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πύλης Φλαμινίας ἀπεπειράσαντο, ἐπεὶ ἐν χώρῳ  
 3 κρημνῶδει κειμένη οὐ λίαν ἐστὶν εὐπρόσοδος. οἱ  
 Ῥήγες ἐνταῦθα, πεζικὸν τέλος, ἐφύλασσον καὶ  
 Οὔρσικῖνος, ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχε. ταύτης δὲ μεταξὺ  
 τῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχομένης πυλίδος, ἣ  
 Πιγκιανὴ ὀνομάζεται, μοῖρά τις τοῦ περιβόλου  
 δίχα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου διαιρεθεῖσα,  
 οὐκ ἐξ ἐδάφους μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ μήκους τοῦ  
 ἡμίσεος, οὐκ ἔπese μὲν οὐδὲ ἄλλως διεφθάρη,  
 ἐκλίθη δὲ οὕτως ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἐκτὸς  
 4 τοῦ ἄλλου τείχους, τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς φαίνεσθαι. καὶ  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Περίβολον Διερωγῶτα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ  
 σφετέρᾳ γλώσσει ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι τὸν χώρον.  
 5 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος καθελεῖν τε καὶ ἀνοικοδομή-  
 σασθαι Βελισάριον κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγχειροῦντα  
 ἐκώλυνον Ῥωμαῖοι, Πέτρον σφίσι τὸν ἀπόστολον  
 ὑποσχέσθαι ἰσχυριζόμενοι αὐτῷ μελήσειν τοῦ  
 ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἀπόστολον  
 σέβονται Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τεθήπασι πάντων μά-  
 6 λιστα. ἀπέβη τε αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα ἐν τῷδε τῷ  
 χωρίῳ ἢ διανοοῦντο καὶ προσεδόκων. οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα  
 χρόνον καθ' ὃν Γότθοι Ῥώμην ἐπολιόρκουν, οὔτε  
 πολεμίων τις δύναμις ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκετο οὔτε τινα  
 7 ταραχὴν γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. καὶ ἐθαυμάζομέν γε  
 ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐς μνήμην ἡμετέραν ἢ τῶν πολεμίων

1 "No doubt these are the same as the *Prætorii*, one of the  
 seventeen 'Auxilia Palatina' under the command of the  
 Magister Militum Praesentalis, mentioned in the *Notitia  
 Orientis*, cap. v."—HODGKIN.

like manner they made no attempt on the Flaminian Gate, because it is situated on a precipitous slope and is not very easy of access. The "Reges,"<sup>1</sup> an infantry detachment, were keeping guard there with Ursicinus, who commanded them. And between this gate and the small gate next on the right, which is called the Pincian, a certain portion of the wall had split open of its own accord in ancient times, not clear to the ground, however, but about half way down, but still it had not fallen or been otherwise destroyed, though it leaned so to either side that one part of it appeared outside the rest of the wall and the other inside. And from this circumstance the Romans from ancient times have called the place "Broken Wall"<sup>2</sup> in their own tongue. But when Belisarius in the beginning undertook to tear down this portion and rebuild it, the Romans prevented him, declaring that the Apostle Peter had promised them that he would care for the guarding of the wall there. This Apostle is revered by the Romans and held in awe above all others. And the outcome of events at this place was in all respects what the Romans contemplated and expected. For neither on that day nor throughout the whole time during which the Goths were besieging Rome did any hostile force come to that place, nor did any disturbance occur there. And we marvelled indeed that it never occurred to us nor to the enemy to remember this portion of the

<sup>1</sup> Murus Ruptus. "Here, to this day, notwithstanding some lamentable and perfectly unnecessary 'restorations' of recent years, may be seen some portions of the Muro Torto, a twisted, bulging, overhanging mass of *opus reticulatum*." HODGKIN.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

αὕτη τοῦ περιβόλου<sup>1</sup> ἡ μοῖρα παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἦλθεν, οὔτε τειχομαχούντων οὔτε νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλευόντων τῷ τείχει, οἷα πολλὰ ἐνεχρί-  
 8 ρησαν. διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ ὕστερόν τις ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι τοῦτο ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἡμέραν τήνδε οὔτω τὸ ἐκείνη διήρηται τείχος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν.

9 Ἐν δὲ Σαλαρίᾳ πύλῃ Γότθος ἀνὴρ εὐμήκης τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια θώρακά τε ἐνδιδυσκόμενος καὶ κράνος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχων, ὣν τε οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἐν τῷ Γότθων ἔθνει, οὐκ ἐν τάξει ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δένδρου ἰστάμενος ἔβαλλε<sup>2</sup>  
 10 συχνὰ<sup>3</sup> ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα μηχανὴ ἐν πύργῳ κατὰ μέρος τὸ λαιὸν οὔσα  
 11 τύχη τινὶ ἔβαλε.<sup>4</sup> διαβὰν δὲ τὸν τε θώρακα καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τὸ βέλος ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ ἐς τὸ δένδρον ἔδω, ἐνέρσει τε αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα  
 12 ξυνδῆσαν νεκρὸν ἤρτησεν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι κατείδον, κατορρωδήσαντες καὶ βελῶν ἔξω γενόμενοι ἔμενον μὲν ἔτι ἐν τάξει, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει οὐκέτι ἐλύπουν.

13 Βέσσας δὲ καὶ Περάνιος, Οὐιπτίγιδος ἐν Βιβαρίῳ ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένου σφίσι, Βελισάριον μετεπέμποντο. ὁ δὲ δείσας περὶ τῷ ἐνταῦθα τείχει (ἦν γὰρ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται) κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθει αὐτός,<sup>5</sup> τῶν τινα

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι . . . περιβόλου K : ὅτι ἐς μνήμην ἦκιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἢ ἐς πείραν αὕτη ἡ τοῦ περιβόλου μοῖρα L.

<sup>2</sup> ἔβαλλε L : ἔβαλε K. <sup>3</sup> συχνὰ K : σχοῖνον L.

fortifications during the whole time, either while they were making their assaults or carrying out their designs against the wall by night; and yet many such attempts were made. It was for this reason, in fact, that at a later time also no one ventured to rebuild this part of the defences, but up to the present day the wall there is split open in this way. So much, then, for this.

And at the Salarian Gate a Goth of goodly stature and a capable warrior, wearing a corselet and having a helmet on his head, a man who was of no mean station in the Gothic nation, refused to remain in the ranks with his comrades, but stood by a tree and kept shooting many missiles at the parapet. But this man by some chance was hit by a missile from an engine which was on a tower at his left. And passing through the corselet and the body of the man, the missile sank more than half its length into the tree, and pinning him to the spot where it entered the tree, it suspended him there a corpse. And when this was seen by the Goths they fell into great fear, and getting outside the range of missiles, they still remained in line, but no longer harassed those on the wall.

But Bessas and Peranius summoned Belisarius, since Vittigis was pressing most vigorously upon them at the Vivarium. And he was fearful concerning the wall there (for it was most assailable at that point, as has been said<sup>1</sup>), and so came to the rescue himself with all speed, leaving one of his friends at

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxii. 10.

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<sup>4</sup> ἔβαλε K : ἔβαλλε L.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτός Christ : αὐτὸς ἕνα MSS.



- 14 ἐπιτηδείων λιπῶν ἐν Σαλαρίᾳ. καὶ τοὺς στρα-  
τιώτας εὐρῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐν Βιβάρίῳ τὴν προσβολὴν τῶν  
ἐναντίων πεφοβημένους, μεγάλην τε οὖσαν καὶ  
πολυάνθρωπον, ὑπερφρονεῖν τε τῶν πολεμίῳι  
15 ἐκέλευε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἀντικαθίστη. ἦν δὲ  
ὁ ταύτῃ χώρος ὁμαλὸς κομιδῇ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς  
ἐφόδοις τῶν προσιόντων ἐκκείμενος.<sup>2</sup> τύχῃ τέ  
τινι τὸ ἐκείνῃ τείχος οὕτως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διερ-  
ρυήκει ὥς τῶν πλίνθων μὴ λίαν τὴν ξυνθήκην  
16 ξυνίστασθαι. τείχισμα δὲ ἄλλο βραχὺ περιέ-  
βαλλον ἔξωθεν αὐτῷ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ  
ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἔνεκα (οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ πύργων  
ὀχύρωμα εἶχεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπάλξεις τινὲς ἐν-  
ταῦθα πεποιήντο οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ὅθεν ἂν καὶ  
ἀπώσασθαι οἶόν τε ἦν τὴν ἐς τὸν περίβολον  
ἐπιβουλήν τῶν πολεμίῳι), ἀλλὰ τρυφῆς τινος  
οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς χάριν, ὅπως δὴ λέοντάς τε καὶ  
17 τᾶλλα θηρία καθεῖρξαντες ἐνταῦθα τηροῖεν. διὸ  
δὴ καὶ Βιβάριον τοῦτο ὠνόμασται· οὕτω γὰρ  
Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὸν χώρον οὗ ἂν τῶν ζώων τὰ  
μὴ χειροῖθι τρέφεσθαι εἴωθεν. Οὐίττιγίς μὲν  
οὖν μηχανάς τε ἄλλας ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους ἡτοίμαξε  
καὶ ὀρύσσειν<sup>3</sup> τὸ ἔξω τείχισμα τοὺς Γότθους ἐκέ-  
λευεν,<sup>4</sup> οἰόμενος, ἦν τούτου ἐντὸς γένωνται, πόνῳ  
οὐδενὶ τοῦ τείχους κρατήσειν, ὅπερ οὐδαμῇ ἐχυρὸν  
18 ξυνηπίστατο εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ ὀρῶν τοὺς  
πολεμίους τό τε Βιβάριον διορύσσοντας καὶ  
πολλαχῇ τοῦ περιβόλου προσβάλλοντας, οὔτε

<sup>1</sup> εὐρῶν K : ὀρῶν L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκκείμενος Haury : ἐγκείμενος MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ὀρύσσειν K : κατὰ L.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκέλευεν K : ἰέναι ἐκέλευεν L.

the Salarian Gate. And finding that the soldiers in the Vivarium dreaded the attack of the enemy, which was being pressed with great vigour and by very large numbers, he bade them look with contempt upon the enemy and thus restored their confidence. Now the ground there<sup>1</sup> was very level, and consequently the place lay open to the attacks of any assailant. And for some reason the wall at that point had crumbled a great deal, and to such an extent that the binding of the bricks did not hold together very well. Consequently the ancient Romans had built another wall of short length outside of it and encircling it, not for the sake of safety (for it was neither strengthened with towers, nor indeed was there any battlement built upon it, nor any other means by which it would have been possible to repulse an enemy's assault upon the fortifications), but in order to provide for an unseemly kind of luxury, namely, that they might confine and keep there lions and other wild animals. And it is for this reason that this place has been named the Vivarium; for thus the Romans call a place where untamed animals are regularly cared for. So Vitigis began to make ready various engines at different places along the wall and commanded the Goths to mine the outside wall, thinking that, if they should get inside that, they would have no trouble in capturing the main wall, which he knew to be by no means strong. But Belisarius, seeing that the enemy was undermining the Vivarium and assaulting the fortifications at many places, neither

<sup>1</sup> The exact location is hard to determine; the majority of the authorities agree on the location given in the plan (opposite p. 185), near the Porta Labicana.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀμύνειν τοὺς στρατιώτας οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι μένειν, ὅτι μὴ λίαν ὀλίγους, εἶα, καίπερ ἅπαν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων εἴ τι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λόγιμον ἦν.
- 19 κἀτῷ δὲ ἅπαντας ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε τεθωρακισμένους τε καὶ ξίφη μόνα ἐν χερσὶ φέροντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Γότθοι, διελύντες τον τοῖχον, ἐντὸς Βιβαρίου ἐγένοντο, Κυπριανὸν ξὺν ἄλλοις τισὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσβιβάσας
- 20 ἔργου ἐκέλευεν<sup>1</sup> ἔχεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν<sup>2</sup> τοὺς ἐσπεπτωκότας<sup>3</sup> ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους καὶ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαφθειρομένους ἐν τῇ
- 21 ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον στενοχωρία. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντων καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει συντεταγμένων, ἀλλὰ ἄλλου ἄλλῃ φερομένου, τοῦ περιβόλου τὰς πύλας ἀνακλίνας ἐξαπιναίως
- 22 ἅπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἠφίει τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν Γότθοι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἦκιστα ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν, ὅπῃ ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν, ὥρμητο· ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐν ποσὶ ῥῆστα ἔκτεινον, ἥ τε δίωξις πολλὴ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν σφετέρων χαρα-
- 23 κωμάτων τῇδε ἐτειχομάχουν. Βελισάριος δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων μηχανὰς καίειν ἐκέλευεν, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τε ἡ φλόξ αἶρομένη μείζονα τὴν ἐκπληξιν, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐποίει.<sup>4</sup>
- 24 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ πύλιν Σαλαρίαν ξυμπεσεῖν τὴν ὁμοίαν τύχην ξυνέβη. τὰς τε γὰρ πύλας ἐξαπιναίως ἀνέφγοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου ἐνέπιπτον, τούτους τε οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, ἀλλὰ τὰ νῶτα στρέψαντας ἔκτεινον,

<sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευεν K: εἶα L.      <sup>2</sup> μὲν K: μὲν τῷ φόβῳ L.

<sup>3</sup> τοὺς ἐσπεπτωκότας K: πεπτωκότας L.

<sup>4</sup> ἐποίει K: ἐνεποίει L.

allowed the soldiers to defend the wall nor to remain at the battlement, except a very few, although he had with him whatever men of distinction the army contained. But he held them all in readiness below about the gates, with their corselets on and carrying only swords in their hands. And when the Goths, after making a breach in the wall, got inside the Vivarium, he quickly sent Cyprian with some others into the enclosure against them, commanding them to set to work. And they slew all who had broken in, for these made no defence and at the same time were being destroyed by one another in the cramped space about the exit. And since the enemy were thrown into dismay by the sudden turn of events and were not drawn up in order, but were rushing one in one direction and one in another, Belisarius suddenly opened the gates of the circuit-wall and sent out his entire army against his opponents. And the Goths had not the least thought of resistance, but rushed off in flight in any and every direction, while the Romans, following them up, found no difficulty in killing all whom they fell in with, and the pursuit proved a long one, since the Goths, in assaulting the wall at that place, were far away from their own camps. Then Belisarius gave the order to burn the enemy's engines, and the flames, rising to a great height, naturally increased the consternation of the fugitives.

Meanwhile it chanced that the same thing happened at the Salarian Gate also. For the Romans suddenly opened the gates and fell unexpectedly upon the barbarians, and, as these made no resistance but turned their backs, slew them; and they

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 25 καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς μηχανήματα ἔκαιον. καὶ ἡ  
 τε φλόξ πολλαχῇ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρθη ἢ τε  
 τῶν Γότθων ὑπαγωγὴ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἐκ παντὸς  
 τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
 ὑπερφυῆς ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ τείχει<sup>1</sup> τοῖς διώ-  
 κουσιν ἐγκελευομένων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασι  
 26 τὴν τοῦ πύθους ὑπερβολὴν ὀδυρομένων. ἀπέ-  
 θανον δὲ Γότθων ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τρισμύριοι, ὥς  
 αὐτῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἰσχυρίζοντο, καὶ τραυματίαι  
 πλείους ἐγένοντο· ἅτε γὰρ ἐν πλήθει πολλῷ οἱ  
 τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τὰ πλείστα ἐτύγχανον εἰς  
 αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιού-  
 μενοι πάμπολύ τι χρήμα καταπεπληγμένων τε  
 27 καὶ φευγόντων ἀνθρώπων διέφθειρον. ἡ τε τειχο-  
 μαχία πρῶτ' ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς δέιλῃν ὀψίαν.  
 ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἡλίσσαντο ἐκάτεροι,  
 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ παιανίζοντες καὶ  
 Βελισάριον ἐν εὐφημίαις ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰ τῶν  
 νεκρῶν σκυλεύματα ἔχοντες, Γότθοι δὲ τοὺς τε  
 τραυματίας σφῶν θεραπεύοντες καὶ τοὺς τελευτή-  
 σαντας ὀδυρόμενοι.

## XXIV

- Βελισάριός τε γράμματα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν  
 ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· “ Ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευες, χώραν τε αὐτῆς  
 περιβεβλημένοι πολλὴν καὶ Ῥώμην κατελάβο-  
 μεν, ἀπωσάμενοι τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους, ὥνπερ  
 ἔναγχος τὸν ἄρχοντα Λεύδεριν ἐς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψα.  
 2 συμβέβηκε δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλήθος ἐν

<sup>1</sup> τείχει Haury : τείχει Ῥωμαίων MSS.

burned the engines of war which were within their reach. And the flames at many parts of the wall rose to a great height, and the Goths were already being forced to retire from the whole circuit-wall; and the shouting on both sides was exceedingly loud, as the men on the wall urged on the pursuers, and those in the camps bewailed the overwhelming calamity they had suffered. Among the Goths there perished on that day thirty thousand, as their leaders declared, and a larger number were wounded; for since they were massed in great numbers, those fighting from the battlement generally hit somebody when they shot at them, and at the same time those who made the sallies destroyed an extraordinary number of terrified and fleeing men. And the fighting at the wall, which had commenced early in the morning, did not end until late in the afternoon. During that night, then, both armies bivouacked where they were, the Romans singing the song of victory on the fortifications and lauding Belisarius to the skies, having with them the spoils stripped from the fallen, while the Goths cared for their wounded and bewailed their dead.

## XXIV

AND Belisarius wrote a letter to the emperor of the following purport: "We have arrived in Italy, as thou didst command, and we have made ourselves masters of much territory in it and have taken possession of Rome also, after driving out the barbarians who were here, whose leader, Leuderis, I have recently sent to you. But since we have stationed



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τε Σικελία καὶ Ἰταλία ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ὀχυρω-  
 μάτων καταστησαμένοις ὥνπερ δυνατοὶ κατα-  
 κερρατηκέναι γεγόναμεν, τὸ στράτευμα ἐς πεντα-  
 3 κισχιλίους ἀπολελείφθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἤκουσιν  
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐς μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα συνειλεγμένοι.  
 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
 γενομένοις παρὰ Τίβεριν ποταμόν, ἠναγκασμέ-  
 νοις τε παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν,  
 μικροῦ κατακεχῶσθαι δοράτων συμβέβηκε πλή-  
 4 θει. ἔπειτα δὲ τειχομαχήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι  
 παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ μηχαναῖς τισι προσβα-  
 λόντες πανταχόσε τοῦ τείχους, ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν  
 ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοβοεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν, εἰ  
 5 μὴ τις ἡμᾶς ἀνῆρπασε τύχη. τὰ γὰρ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων νικῶντα τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως  
 ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ κρεῖσσον, ἀναφέ-  
 6 ρεσθαι πρέποι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε ἡμῖν  
 πεπραγμένα, εἴτε τύχη τινὶ εἴτε ἀρετῇ, ὥς  
 ἄριστα ἔχει· τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε βουλοίμην ἂν ἀμείνω  
 7 τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς σοῖς ἔσεσθαι. ὅσα μὲν-  
 τοι προσήκει ἐμέ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς πρᾶξαι, οὐ  
 μίποτε ἀποκρύψομαι, ἐκεῖνο εἰδώς, ὥς πρόεισι  
 μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὅπῃ ἂν βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ  
 εἴη, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἀπάντων προστάται ἐκ  
 τῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένων τὰς αἰτίας ἢ  
 8 τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐς αἰὲν φέρονται. οὐκοῦν ὅπλα τε  
 καὶ στρατιῶται στελλέσθων ἐς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτοι  
 τὸ πλήθος ὥστε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡμᾶς τὸ λοιπὸν  
 ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε  
 9 καθίστασθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντα χρεὼν πιστεύ-  
 ειν τῇ τύχῃ, ἐπὶ οὐδὲ ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τοῖ

a great number of soldiers both in Sicily and in Italy to guard the strongholds which we have proved able to capture, our army has in consequence been reduced to only five thousand men. But the enemy have come against us, gathered together to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand. And first of all, when we went out to spy upon their forces along the Tiber River and were compelled, contrary to our intention, to engage with them, we lacked only a little of being buried under a multitude of spears. And after this, when the barbarians attacked the wall with their whole army and assaulted the fortifications at every point with sundry engines of war, they came within a little of capturing both us and the city at the first onset, and they would have succeeded had not some chance snatched us from ruin. For achievements which transcend the nature of things may not properly and fittingly be ascribed to man's valour, but to a stronger power. Now all that has been achieved by us hitherto, whether it has been due to some kind fortune or to valour, is for the best; but as to our prospects from now on, I could wish better things for thy cause. However, I shall never hide from you anything that it is my duty to say and yours to do, knowing that while human affairs follow whatever course may be in accordance with God's will, yet those who are in charge of any enterprise always win praise or blame according to their own deeds. Therefore let both arms and soldiers be sent to us in such numbers that from now on we may engage with the enemy in this war with an equality of strength. For one ought not to trust everything to fortune, since fortune, on its part, is not given to following the same course

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- χρόνον φέρεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἀλλὰ σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
 ἐκεῖνο εἰσίτω, ὥς ἦν<sup>1</sup> νῦν ἡμῶν οἱ βάρβαροι  
 περιέσονται, Ἰταλίας τε τῆς σῆς ἐκπεσοῦμεθα  
 καὶ προσαποβαλοῦμεν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ προσ-  
 ἔσται ἡμῖν τοσαύτη τις οὔσα ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 10 πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνη. ἐῷ γὰρ λέγειν ὥς καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίους ἀπολεῖν δόξαιμεν, οἳ γε περὶ ἐλάσσονος  
 τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς ἐς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν πεποί-  
 11 ηνται πίστεως. ὥστε ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἄχρι τοῦδε  
 γενομένην εὐημερίαν εἰς συμφορῶν ὑπόθεσιν  
 12 τετελευτηκέναι ξυμβήσεται. εἰ γὰρ Ῥώμης  
 ἡμῖν καὶ Καμπανίας καὶ πολλῷ πρότερον Σικελίας  
 ἀποκεκροῦσθαι τετύχηκε, τὸ πάντων ἂν ἡμᾶς  
 κουφότατον τῶν κακῶν ἔδακτε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλο-  
 13 τίοις δεδυνῆσθαι πλουτεῖν. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο  
 ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὥς Ῥώμην πώποτε  
 πλείω τινὰ χρόνον οὐδὲ μυριάσι πολλαῖς δια-  
 φυλάξαι δυνατὸν γέγονε, χώραν τε περιβεβλη-  
 μένην πολλὴν καὶ τῷ μὴ ἐπιθαλασσίαν εἶναι  
 14 τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποκεκλεισμένην ἀπάντων. καὶ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι νῦν μὲν<sup>2</sup> εὐνοικῶς ἡμῖν ἔχουσι, τῶν δὲ  
 κακῶν αὐτοῖς, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, μηκυνομένων, οὐδὲν  
 μελλήσουσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω.  
 15 οἳ γὰρ ἐξ ὑπογύου τισὶν ἐς εὐνοίαν καθιστάμενοι,  
 οὐ κακοτυχοῦντες, ἀλλ' εὖ πᾶσχοιντες, τὸ πιστὸν  
 16 ἐς αὐτοὺς διασώζουσιν εἰώθασιν. ἄλλως τε καὶ  
 λιμῷ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀναγκασθήσονται πολλὰ ὧν οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> ὥς ἦν L: ἦν γὰρ K.

<sup>2</sup> νῦν μὲν Haury: μέν, νῦν μὲν K, μὲν νῦν L.

forever. But do thou, O Emperor, take this thought to heart, that if at this time the barbarians win the victory over us, we shall be cast out of Italy which is thine and shall lose the army in addition, and besides all this we shall have to bear the shame, however great it may be, that attaches to our conduct. For I refrain from saying that we should also be regarded as having ruined the Romans, men who have held their safety more lightly than their loyalty to thy kingdom. Consequently, if this should happen, the result for us will be that the successes we have won thus far will in the end prove to have been but a prelude to calamities. For if it had so happened that we had been repulsed from Rome and Campania and, at a much earlier time, from Sicily, we should only be feeling the sting of the lightest of all misfortunes, that of having found ourselves unable to grow wealthy on the possessions of others. And again, this too is worthy of consideration by you, that it has never been possible even for many times ten thousand men to guard Rome for any considerable length of time, since the city embraces a large territory, and, because it is not on the sea, is shut off from all supplies. And although at the present time the Romans are well disposed toward us, yet when their troubles are prolonged, they will probably not hesitate to choose the course which is better for their own interests. For when men have entered into friendship with others on the spur of the moment, it is not while they are in evil fortune, but while they prosper, that they are accustomed to keep faith with them. Furthermore, the Romans will be compelled by hunger to do many things they would prefer not to do.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 17 ἂν βούλονται πράξαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶδα θάνατον  
ὀφείλων τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζώντά  
με οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐνθένδε ἐξελᾶν<sup>1</sup> δύναιτο· σκόπει δὲ  
ὁποῖαν ποτέ σοι δόξαν ἢ τοιαύτη Βελισαρίου  
τελευτῇ φέρει.”
- 18 Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψε. βασιλεὺς  
δὲ λίαν<sup>2</sup> ξυνταραχθεὶς στράτευμά τε καὶ ναῦς  
σπουδῇ ἡγείρε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ  
19 Μαρτίνον ἐπέστελλε κατὰ τάχος ἵεναι. σταλέντες  
γὰρ ξὺν στρατεύματι ἄλλῳ ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς  
τροπὰς ἔτυχοι, ἐφ’ ᾧ πλεύσουσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.  
20 οἱ δὲ καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα (περαιτέρω  
γὰρ βιάζεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν)  
διεχέιμαζον εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰτωλίας τε καὶ Ἀκαρ-  
21 ρανίας χωρία. ταῦτά τε Βελισαρίῳ δηλώσας  
Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτόν τε καὶ  
Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπέρρωσεν.  
22 Ἦν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνηνέχθη ἐν Νεαπόλει τοιόνδε  
γενέσθαι. Θεωδερίχου τοῦ Γότθων ἄρχοντος  
εἰκὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐκ ψηφίδων  
τινῶν ξυγκειμένη, μικρῶν μὲν εἰς ἄγαν, χροιαῖς  
23 δὲ βεβαμμένων σχεδὸν τι ὑπάσαις. ταύτης τῆς  
εἰκόνος ποτὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διαρρῦναι ζώντος  
Θεωδερίχου ξυμβέβηκε, τῆς τῶν ψηφίδων ἐπι-  
βολῆς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ξυνταραχθείσης, καὶ  
Θεωδερίχῳ ξυνηνέχθη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον αὐτίκα  
24 δὴ μάλα. ἐνιαυτοῖς δὲ ὀκτὼ ὕστερον αἱ τὴν τῆς  
εἰκόνος γαστέρα ποιοῦσαι ψηφίδες διερρύναν  
ἐξαπινάως, καὶ Ἀταλάριχος ὁ Θεωδερίχου  
25 θυγατρίδους εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτα. χρόνου τε τριβέντος

<sup>1</sup> ἐξελᾶν K: ἐξελεῖν L.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ λίαν K: τε L.

Now as for me, I know I am bound even to die for thy kingdom, and for this reason no man will ever be able to remove me from this city while I live: but I beg thee to consider what kind of a fame such an end of Belisarius would bring thee."

Such was the letter written by Belisarius. And the emperor, greatly distressed, began in haste to gather an army and ships, and sent orders to the troops of Valerian and Martinus<sup>1</sup> to proceed with all speed. For they had been sent, as it happened, with another army at about the winter solstice, with instructions to sail to Italy. But they had sailed as far as Greece, and since they were unable to force their way any farther, they were passing the winter in the land of Aetolia and Acarnania. And the Emperor Justinian sent word of all this to Belisarius, and thus filled him and all the Romans with still greater courage and confirmed their zeal.

At this time it so happened that the following event took place in Naples. There was in the market-place a picture of Theoderic, the ruler of the Goths, made by means of sundry stones which were exceedingly small and tinted with nearly every colour. At one time during the life of Theoderic it had come to pass that the head of this picture fell apart, the stones as they had been set having become disarranged without having been touched by anyone, and by a coincidence Theoderic finished his life forthwith. And eight years later the stones which formed the body of the picture fell apart suddenly, and Atalaric, the grandson of Theoderic, immediately died. And after the passage of a short time, the

<sup>1</sup> Leaders of *federati*; see Book III. xi. 4-6; they had been recalled from Africa to Byzantium, cf. Book IV. xix. 2.



- ὀλίγον πίπτουσι μὲν ἐς γῆν αἱ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα  
ψηφίδες, Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ ἡ Θευδερίχου παῖς  
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆς  
26 ἐχώρησε. Γότθων δὲ Ῥώμης ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν  
καθισταμένων τὰ ἐκ τῶν τῆς εἰκόνης μηρῶν ἄχρι  
27 ἐς ἄκρους πόδας διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκε, ταύτῃ τε  
ἅπαντα ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ἐξίτηλος ἢ εἰκὼν γέγονει·  
οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο ξυμβαλόντες  
περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ ἰσχυρίζοντο τὸν τοῦ  
βασιλέως στρατὸν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶναι τοὺς  
Θευδερίχου πόδας ἢ τὸν Γότθων λεῶν ὧν ἐκείνος  
ἦρχεν οἰόμενοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐέλπιδες ἔτι  
μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο.
- 28 Ἐν μέντοι<sup>1</sup> Ῥώμῃ τῶν τινες πατρικίων τὰ  
Σιβύλλης λόγια προῦφερον, ἰσχυριζόμενοι τὸν  
κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα  
29 γεγενῆσθαι μόνον. χρῆναι γὰρ τότε βασιλέα  
Ῥωμαίοις καταστήναί τινα, ἐξ οὗ δὴ Γετικὸν  
30 οὐδὲν Ῥώμῃ τὸ λοιπὸν δείσειε. Γετικὸν γάρ  
φασιν ἔθνος τοὺς Γότθους εἶναι. εἶχε δὲ  
τὸ λόγιον ὧδε· Quintili mense \* \* rege nihil  
31 Geticum iam \*<sup>2</sup>. πέμπτον δὲ μῆνα τὸν Ἰούλιον  
ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, οἱ μὲν, ὅτι Μαρτίου ἰστα-  
μένου ἢ πολιορκία κατ' ἀρχὰς γέγονεν, ἀφ' οὗ  
δὴ πέμπτον Ἰούλιον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, οἱ δέ, ὅτι  
Μάρτιον πρῶτον πρὸ τῆς Νουμᾶ βασιλείας ἐνό-  
μιζον μῆνα, ὅτε δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς δέκα μῆνας  
ὁ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνος ξυρῆι,<sup>3</sup> Ἰουλίος τε ἀπ'

<sup>1</sup> μέντοι K: μὲν τῇ L.

<sup>2</sup> The original Greek character of this oracle may be read in Haury, note *a.l.* It is very difficult to decipher. Bury proposes *Quintili mense si regnum stat in urbe nihil Geticum iam (metuat?)*.

<sup>3</sup> ξυρῆι: ξυρίει K, ξυρή δ L.

stones about the groin fell to the ground, and Amalasuntha, the child of Theoderic, passed from the world. Now these things had already happened as described. But when the Goths began the siege of Rome, as chance would have it, the portion of the picture from the thighs to the tips of the feet fell into ruin, and thus the whole picture disappeared from the wall. And the Romans, divining the meaning of the incident, maintained that the emperor's army would be victorious in the war, thinking that the feet of Theoderic were nothing else than the Gothic people whom he ruled, and, in consequence, they became still more hopeful.

In Rome, moreover, some of the patricians brought out the Sibylline oracles,<sup>1</sup> declaring that the danger which had come to the city would continue only up till the month of July. For it was fated that at that time someone should be appointed king over the Romans, and thenceforth Rome should have no longer any Getic peril to fear; for they say that the Goths are of the Getic race. And the oracle was as follows: "In the fifth (Quintilis) month . . . under . . . as king nothing Getic longer . . ." And they declared that the "fifth month" was July, some because the siege began on the first day of March, from which July is the fifth month, others because March was considered the first month until the reign of Numa, the full year before that time containing ten months and our July for this reason

<sup>1</sup> The story of the origin of these oracles is given in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* IV. lxii. They were burned with the Capitol in 83 B.C. The second collection was burned by Stilicho in 405 A.D. The oracles Procopius saw (cf. § 35 of this chapter) were therefore a third collection.

αὐτοῦ Κυντίλιος ὠνομάζετο. ἀλλ' ἦν ἄρα τού-  
 32 των οὐδὲν ὑγιές. οὔτε γὰρ βασιλεὺς τότε Ῥω-  
 μαίοις κατέστη, καὶ ἡ πολιορκία ἐνιαυτῷ<sup>1</sup>  
 ὕστερον διαλυθῆσσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ  
 Τουτίλα Γότθων ἄρχοντος ἐς τοὺς ὁμοίους Ῥώμη  
 κινδύνους ἰέναι, ὥς μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθε λελέξε-  
 33 ται λόγοις. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι οὐ ταύτην δὴ τὴν  
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἔφοδον τὸ μαντεῖον δηλοῦν, ἀλλ'  
 ἑτέραν τινὰ ἢ ἥδη ξυμβᾶσαν ἢ ὕστερόν ποτε  
 34 ἐσομένην. τῶν γὰρ Σιβύλλης λογίων τὴν διά-  
 νοιαν πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξευρεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ οἶμαι  
 35 ἀδύνατον εἶναι. αἴτιον δὲ ὅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα  
 δηλώσω ἐκείνα ἀναλεξάμενος ἅπαντα. ἡ Σίβυλλα  
 οὐχ ἅπαντα ἐξῆς τὰ πράγματα λέγει οὐδὲ ἁρμο-  
 νίαν τινὰ ποιουμένη τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἔπος εἰπούσα  
 ὅ τι δὴ ἀμφὶ τοῖς Λιβύης κακοῖς ἀπεπήδησεν  
 36 εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη, ἐνθὲνδε τε Ῥωμαίων ἐς  
 μνήμην ἐλθοῦσα μεταβιβάζει ἐς τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους  
 τὸν λόγον. καὶ πάλιν ἀμφὶ Ῥωμαίοις μαντεο-  
 37 μένη προλέγει τὰ Βρεττανῶν πάθη. ταύτη τε  
 ἀδύνατά ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁτῶοῦν πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου  
 τῶν Σιβύλλης λογίων ξυνεῖναι, ἦν μὴ ὁ χρόνος  
 αὐτὸς ἐκβάντος ἡδὴ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τοῦ λόγου  
 ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντος ἀκριβοῦς τοῦ ἔπους ἐρμηνεὺς  
 γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λογιζέσθω ἕκαστος  
 ὅπη αὐτῷ φίλον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάν-  
 ειμι.

<sup>1</sup> ἐνιαυτῷ K : om. L.

having its name Quintilis. But after all, none of these predictions came true. For neither was a king appointed over the Romans at that time, nor was the siege destined to be broken up until a year later, and Rome was again to come into similar perils in the reign of Totila, ruler of the Goths, as will be told by me in the subsequent narrative.<sup>1</sup> For it seems to me that the oracle does not indicate this present attack of the barbarians, but some other attack which has either happened already or will come at some later time. Indeed, in my opinion, it is impossible for a mortal man to discover the meaning of the Sibyl's oracles before the actual event. The reason for this I shall now set forth, having read all the oracles in question. The Sibyl does not invariably mention events in their order, much less construct a well-arranged narrative, but after uttering some verse or other concerning the troubles in Libya she leaps straightway to the land of Persia, thence proceeds to mention the Romans, and then transfers the narrative to the Assyrians. And again, while uttering prophecies about the Romans, she foretells the misfortunes of the Britons. For this reason it is impossible for any man soever to comprehend the oracles of the Sibyl before the event, and it is only time itself, after the event has already come to pass and the words can be tested by experience, that can shew itself an accurate interpreter of her sayings. But as for these things, let each one reason as he desires. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

<sup>1</sup> Book VII. xx.

- Ἐπειδὴ Γότθοι ἀπεκρούσθησαν τειχομαχοῦν-  
 τες, ἠϋλίσαντο τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην οὕτως ὥσπερ  
 2 ἐρρήθη ἐκάτεροι. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Βελισάριος  
 πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευε παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας  
 ἐς Νεάπολιν ὑπεκκομίζειν, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὅσους  
 μὴ ἀναγκαίους σφίσιν ἐς τοῦ τείχους τὴν φυλα-  
 κὴν ἔσεσθαι ᾤοντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐς ἀπορίαν τῶν  
 3 ἐπιτηδείων καθιστῶνται. ταῦτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν  
 καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπήγγελλεν, εἴ τιμι οἰκέτης  
 ἢ θεράπεινα ἦν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι οἶός τε εἶναι τὰς  
 σιτήσεις αὐτοῖς ἔφασκεν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ κατὰ τὰ  
 εἰωθότα παρέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ ἐς  
 ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἐπι-  
 τηδείοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον ἐν  
 4 ἀργυρίῳ. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν. καὶ πλῆθος  
 πολὺ αὐτίκα ἐς Καμπανίαν ἦει. ἐκομίζοντο δὲ οἱ  
 μὲν πλοίων ἐπιτυχόντες ἅπερ ἐν τῷ Ῥώμης λιμένι  
 ὠρμίζετο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεζῇ ὁδῷ τῇ καλουμένῃ  
 5 Ἀππία ἰόντες. κίνδυνός τε οὐδεὶς ἢ δέος ἐκ τῶν  
 πολιορκούντων ἐγίνετο οὔτε τοῖς ταύτῃ βαδί-  
 6 ζουσιν οὔτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἰοῦσιν. οἱ γὰρ  
 πολέμιοι οὔτε Ῥώμην ξύμπασαν τοῖς χαρακώμασι  
 περιβαλέσθαι διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως οἰοί τε  
 ἦσαν οὔτε κατ' ὀλίγους ἐτόλμων μακρὰν ἀπο-  
 λείπεσθαι τῶν στρατοπέδων, φοβούμενοι τὰς

## XXV

WHEN the Goths had been repulsed in the fight at the wall, each army bivouacked that night in the manner already described.<sup>1</sup> But on the following day Belisarius commanded all the Romans to remove their women and children to Naples, and also such of their domestics as they thought would not be needed by them for the guarding of the wall, his purpose being, naturally, to forestall a scarcity of provisions. And he issued orders to the soldiers to do the same thing, in case anyone had a male or female attendant. For, he went on to say, he was no longer able while besieged to provide them with food to the customary amount, but they would have to accept one half their daily ration in actual supplies, taking the remainder in silver. So they proceeded to carry out his instructions. And immediately a great throng set out for Campania. Now some, who had the good fortune to secure such boats as were lying at anchor in the harbour<sup>2</sup> of Rome, secured passage, but the rest went on foot by the road which is called the Appian Way. And no danger or fear, as far as the besiegers were concerned, arose to disturb either those who travelled this way on foot or those who set out from the harbour. For, on the one hand, the enemy were unable to surround the whole of Rome with their camps on account of the great size of the city, and, on the other, they did not dare to be found far from the camps in small

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxiii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> At this time the town of Portus, on the north side of the Tiber's mouth, Ostia, on the south side, having been long neglected. Cf. chap. xxvi. 7, 8.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 7 ἐπεκδρομὰς τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῖς  
πολιορκουμένοις ἐπὶ χρόνον τιτὰ πολλὴ ἐξουσία  
ἐγίνετο τῆς τε πόλεως ἀπανίστασθαι καὶ τὰ  
8 ἐπιτήδεια ἔξωθεν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐσκομίζεσθαι. μάλιστα  
δὲ νύκτωρ οἱ βάρβαροι εἰς δέος τε αἰεὶ μέγα  
καθίσταντο καὶ φυλακὰς ποιούμενοι ἐν τοῖς  
9 στρατοπέδοις ἡσύχαζον. ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
ἄλλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι συχνοὶ ἐξιόντες, ὅππῃ  
τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ καθεύδοντας ἢ ὁδῶν ἰόντας κατ'  
ὀλίγους εὐρήσειαν (οἷα πολλὰ ἐν στρατῷ μεγάλα  
γίνεσθαι εἶωθεν, ἄλλων τε ἀναγκαίων χρειῶν  
ἐνεκα καὶ τοῦ βόσκειν ἵππους τε καὶ ἡμιόλους  
καὶ ζῶα ὅσα ἐς βρώσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἦν), ἔκτεινόν τε  
καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐσκυλευκότες, πλείονων σφίσιν.  
ἂν οὕτω τύχοι,<sup>1</sup> πολεμίων ἐπεισπεσόντων<sup>2</sup> ὑπε-  
χώρουν δρόμῳ, ἄνδρες φύσει τε ποδῶκεις καὶ  
κούφως ἐσκενασμένοι καὶ τῇ φυγῇ προλαμβά-  
10 νοντες. οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑποχωρεῖν ὁ πολὺς  
ὄμιλος ἴσχυον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καμπαρίας, οἱ δὲ  
ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἦεσαν, οἱ δὲ ὅππῃ ῥᾶόν τε σφίσιν  
11 ἐνομίσθη καὶ βέλτιον εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ ὁρῶν  
τόν τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἥκιστα εἰς τὴν  
τοῦ τείχους περίοδον ἐξικνούμενον, ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ  
ἦσαν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, καὶ οὐκ αἰεὶ  
φυλάσσειν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄϋπνοι ἴσχυον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν  
ὑπνον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἤροῦντο, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν  
ἐτετάχατο, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος  
πενία τε πιεζομένους<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανί-

<sup>1</sup> τύχοι K, L pr. m. corr.: τύχη L pr. m.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπεισπεσόντων K: ἐπιπεσόντων L.

<sup>3</sup> πιεζομένους K: πιεζόμενοι L, πιεζόμενον Maltretus, Dindorf.

companies, fearing the sallies of their opponents. And on this account abundant opportunity was afforded for some time to the besieged both to move out of the city and to bring provisions into it from outside. And especially at night the barbarians were always in great fear, and so they merely posted guards and remained quietly in their camps. For parties were continually issuing from the city, and especially Moors in great numbers, and whenever they found their enemies either asleep or walking about in small companies (as is accustomed to happen often in a large army, the men going out not only to attend to the needs of nature, but also to pasture horses and mules and such animals as are suitable for food), they would kill them and speedily strip them, and if perchance a larger number of the enemy should fall upon them, they would retire on the run, being men swift of foot by nature and lightly equipped, and always distancing their pursuers in the flight. Consequently, the great majority were able to withdraw from Rome, and some went to Campania, some to Sicily, and others wherever they thought it was easier or better to go. But Belisarius saw that the number of soldiers at his command was by no means sufficient for the whole circuit of the wall, for they were few, as I have previously stated,<sup>1</sup> and the same men could not keep guard constantly without sleeping, but some would naturally be taking their sleep while others were stationed on guard. At the same time he saw that the greatest part of the populace were hard pressed by poverty and in want of the necessities of life;

<sup>1</sup> Five thousand ; cf. chap. xxiv. 2.

- ζοντας,<sup>1</sup> ἄτε γὰρ βαναύσοις ἀνθρώποις ἐφήμερά  
 τε ἅπαντα ἔχουσι καὶ ἀργεῖν διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν  
 ἡναγκασμένοις πόρος οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων ἐγί-  
 νετο, στρατιώτας τε καὶ ἰδιώτας ξυνέμιξε καὶ  
 φυλακτηρίῳ ἐκάστω ἔνειμε,<sup>2</sup> ῥητόν τινα μισθὸν  
 12 ἰδιώτῃ ἀνδρὶ τάξας ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. ὦν δὲ  
 ἐγίνοντο μὲν ξυμμορίαι ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἱκανῶς  
 ἔχουσαι, νύκτα δὲ τακτὴν ἢ φυλακὴ τοῦ περι-  
 βόλου ἐπέκειτο ξυμμορία ἐκάστη, ἐφύλασσόν τε  
 αὐτῶν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἅπαντες. καὶ ταύτῃ Βελι-  
 σάριος ἐκατέρων τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυνεν.
- 13 Ὑποψίας δὲ ἐς Σιλβέριον τὸν τῆς πόλεως  
 ἀρχιερέα γεγεννημένης, ὡς δὲ προδοσίαν ἐς Γότθους  
 πράσσοι, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμψεν αὐ-  
 τήκα, ἕτερον δὲ ἀρχιερέα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, Βιγίλιον  
 14 ὄνομα, κατεστήσατο. τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ  
 βουλῆς ἐπ' αἰτία τῇ αὐτῇ<sup>3</sup> ἐνθένδε ἐξελάσας,  
 ἐπειδὴ τὴν πολιορκίαν οἱ πολέμιοι διαλύσαντες  
 15 ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα κατήγαγεν αὐτοὺς. ἐν  
 τοῖς καὶ Μάξιμος ἦν, οὗ δὲ ὁ προπάτωρ Μάξιμος  
 τὸ ἐς Βαλεντινιανὸν βασιλέα πάθος εἶργαστο.  
 δείσας δὲ μή τις πρὸς φυλάκων τῶν κατὰ πύλας  
 ἐπιβουλὴ γένηται, καὶ τις ἔξωθεν χρήμασί τε<sup>4</sup>  
 αὐτοὺς κακουργήσων ἴοι, δις ἐκάστου μηνὸς τὰς  
 τε κλεῖς ἀπίας ἀφανίζων ἀνενεοῦτο αἰεὶ ἐς  
 ἕτερον σχῆμα, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐς φυλακτήριον  
 ἄλλο μακρὰν πού ἀποθεν τοῦ προτέρου ἀντι-

<sup>1</sup> σπανίζοντας K: σπανίζον L

<sup>2</sup> φυλακτηρίῳ ἐκάστω ἔνειμεν K: φυλακτήριον ἔειμε L.

<sup>3</sup> τῇ αὐτῇ K: τοιαύτῃ L.

<sup>4</sup> χρήμασί τε MSS.: χρήμασιν Christ.

for since they were men who worked with their hands, and all they had was what they got from day to day, and since they had been compelled to be idle on account of the siege, they had no means of procuring provisions. For these reasons Belisarius mingled soldiers and citizens together and distributed them to each post, appointing a certain fixed wage for an unenlisted man for each day. In this way companies were made up which were sufficient for the guarding of the wall, and the duty of keeping guard on the fortifications during a stated night was assigned to each company, and the members of the companies all took turns in standing guard. In this manner, then, Belisarius did away with the distress of both soldiers and citizens.

But a suspicion arose against Silverius, the chief priest of the city, that he was engaged in treasonable negotiations with the Goths, and Belisarius sent him immediately to Greece, and a little later appointed another man, Vigilius by name, to the office of chief priest. And he banished from Rome on the same charge some of the senators, but later, when the enemy had abandoned the siege and retired, he restored them again to their homes. Among these was Maximus, whose ancestor Maximus<sup>1</sup> had committed the crime against the Emperor Valentinian. And fearing lest the guards at the gates should become involved in a plot, and lest someone should gain access from the outside with intent to corrupt them with money, twice in each month he destroyed all the keys and had new ones made, each time of a different design, and he also changed the guards to other posts which were far removed from those they

<sup>1</sup> Book III. iv. 36.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- καθίστη, τοῖς τε ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ φυλακὴν  
 ἔχουσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐς νύκτα ἐκάστην ἑτέρους ἐφίστη.  
 16 οἷς δὲ ἐπέκειτο μέτρον τι τοῦ τείχους περιουσίαν  
 ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀναγράφεσθαι τὰ τῶν φυλάκων  
 ὀνόματα, καὶ ἦν τις ἐνθένδε ἀπολειφθεῖν, ἕτερον  
 μὲν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσασθαι ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ,  
 ἀναφέρειν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, ὅστις ποτὲ  
 ὁ ἀπολειφθεὶς εἶη, ὅπως δὲ κόλασις ἢ προσή-  
 17 κουςα ἐς αὐτὸν γίνοιτο. καὶ μουσικοῖς μὲν ὀργά-  
 νοις χρήσασθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ  
 νύκτωρ ἐκέλευε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινὰς καὶ  
 οὐχ ἡκιστα τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἔξω ἔπεμπε, οἱ  
 ἀμφὶ τὴν τάφρον διανυκτερεύσειν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον,  
 καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς κύνας ἡφίει, ὅπως δὲ μηδὲ ἀποθέν  
 τις ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἰὼν διαλάθοι.  
 18 Τότε καὶ τοῦ Ἰάνου νεὸς τὰς θύρας τῶν τινες  
 'Ρωμαίων βιασάμενοι ἀνακλῖναι λάθρα ἐπειρά-  
 19 σαντο." ὁ δὲ Ἰανὸς οὗτος πρῶτος μὲν ἦν τῶν  
 ἀρχαίων θεῶν οὓς δὲ 'Ρωμαῖοι γλώσσει τῇ σφε-  
 τέρᾳ Πένατες ἐκάλουν. ἔχει δὲ τὸν νεὸν ἐν  
 τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλίγον ὑπερ-  
 20 βάντι τὰ Τρία Φᾶτα· οὕτω γὰρ 'Ρωμαῖοι τὰς  
 Μοίρας νενομίκασι καλεῖν. ὁ τε νεὸς ἅπας  
 χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἔστηκε,  
 τοσοῦτος μέντοι, ὅσον τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου  
 21 σκέπειν. ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ πηχῶν

<sup>1</sup> φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν K: ἄρχοντας L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπειράσαντο Haury: ἐπείρασεν MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> Janus was an old Italian divinity, whose worship was said to have been introduced by Romulus. We are not told by anyone else that he was included among the Penates, but the statement is doubtless true.

had formerly occupied, and every night he set different men in charge of those who were doing guard-duty on the fortifications. And it was the duty of these officers to make the rounds of a section of the wall, taking turns in this work, and to write down the names of the guards, and if anyone was missing from that section, they put another man on duty in his stead for the moment, and on the morrow reported the missing man to Belisarius himself, whoever he might be, in order that the fitting punishment might be given him. And he ordered musicians to play their instruments on the fortifications at night, and he continually sent detachments of soldiers, especially Moors, outside the walls, whose duty it was always to pass the night about the moat, and he sent dogs with them in order that no one might approach the fortifications, even at a distance, without being detected.

At that time some of the Romans attempted secretly to force open the doors of the temple of Janus. This Janus was the first of the ancient gods whom the Romans call in their own tongue "Penates."<sup>1</sup> And he has his temple in that part of the forum in front of the senate-house which lies a little above the "Tria Fata"<sup>2</sup>; for thus the Romans are accustomed to call the Moirai.<sup>3</sup> And the temple is entirely of bronze and was erected in the form of a square, but it is only large enough to cover the statue of Janus. Now this statue is of bronze, and

<sup>2</sup> "This temple of Janus—the most celebrated, but not the only one in Rome—must have stood a little to the right of the Arch of Septimius Severus (as one looks toward the Capitol, and a little in front of the Mamertine Prison." HOBCKIN. The "Tria Fata" were three ancient statues of Sibyls which stood by the Rostra. <sup>3</sup> *i.e.* the Fates.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα  
 ἐμφερὲς ἀνθρώπῳ, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 ἔχον, καὶ τοῖν προσώποιν θάτερον μὲν πρὸς  
 ἀνίσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον  
 22 τέτραπται. θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ' ἐκατέρῳ προσ-  
 ῶπῳ εἰσὶν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς  
 πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι  
 ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσιν ὄντος ἀνέφγον.  
 23 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ Χριστιανῶν δόγμα, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι,  
 Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτίμησαν, ταύτας δὴ τὰς θύρας οὐκέτι  
 24 οὐδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀνέκλινον. ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ  
 τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τινὲς τὴν παλαιάν, οἶμαι, δόξαν ἐν  
 νῶ ἔχοντες ἐγκεχειρήκασιν μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνοιγνύναι  
 λάθρα, οὐ μέντοι παντάπασιν ἴσχυσαν, πλήν-  
 γε δὴ ὅσον μὴ ἐς ἀλλήλας, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον,  
 25 μεμυκέναι<sup>1</sup> τὰς θύρας. καὶ ἔλαθόν γε οἱ τοῦτο  
 δρᾶν ἐγκεχειρηκότες· ζήτησις δὲ τοῦ ἔργου  
 οὐδεμία ἄτε ἐν μεγάλῳ θορύβῳ ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ  
 οὔτε τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἐγνώσθη, οὔτε ἐς τὸ πλῆθος,  
 ὅτι μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους κομιδῇ, ἦλθεν.

## XXVI

- Οὐίττιγισ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θυμῷ τε καὶ ἀπορία  
 ἐχόμενος τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς ἐς Ῥάβεινναν  
 πέμψας, Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἅπαντας  
 οὕσπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐνταῦθα  
 2 ἤγαγε κτείνειν ἐκέλευε. καὶ αὐτῶν τινες μὲν  
 προμαθόντες φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ἐν οἷς Βηργεντίνος  
 τε ἦν καὶ Ῥεπάρατος, Βιγιλίου ἀδελφός, τοῦ  
 Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέως, οἵπερ ἄμφω ἐς Λιγούρους

<sup>1</sup> μεμυκέναι Hoeschel : δεδυκέναι MSS.

not less than five cubits high; in all other respects it resembles a man, but its head has two faces, one of which is turned toward the east and the other toward the west. And there are brazen doors fronting each face, which the Romans in olden times were accustomed to close in time of peace and prosperity, but when they had war they opened them. But when the Romans came to honour, as truly as any others, the teachings of the Christians, they gave up the custom of opening these doors, even when they were at war. During this siege, however, some, I suppose, who had in mind the old belief, attempted secretly to open them, but they did not succeed entirely, and moved the doors only so far that they did not close tightly against one another as formerly. And those who had attempted to do this escaped detection; and no investigation of the act was made, as was natural in a time of great confusion, since it did not become known to the commanders, nor did it reach the ears of the multitude, except of a very few.

## XXVI

Now Vittigis, in his anger and perplexity, first sent some of his bodyguards to Ravenna with orders to kill all the Roman senators whom he had taken there at the beginning of this war. And some of them, learning of this beforehand, succeeded in making their escape, among them being Vergentinus and Reparatus, the brother of Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, both of whom betook them-

- κομισθέντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες  
 3 διεφθάρησαν. μετὰ δὲ Οὐίτιγισ πολλὴν ἄδειαν  
 ὀρώων τοῖς πολεμίοις οὖσαν ἐκφορεῖν τε εἴ τι ἐκ  
 τῆς πόλεως βούλουντο, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τε  
 γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, τὸν λιμένα, ὃν  
 δὴ Πόρτον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω.  
 4 Ὃς δὴ ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους· μέτρῳ γὰρ τοσούτῳ τὸ μὴ  
 5 ἐπιθαλασσία εἶναι διείργεται Ῥώμη· ἔστι δὲ ἡ  
 ὁ ποταμὸς Τίβερις τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχει, ὃς δὴ ἐκ  
 Ῥώμης φερόμενος, ἐπειδὰν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐγγυ-  
 τέρῳ γένηται ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα,  
 δίχα σχιζόμενος τὴν ἱερὰν νῆσον καλουμένην  
 6 ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ. προϊόντος τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐ-  
 ρυτέρα ἢ νῆσος γίνεται, ὥς τῷ μήκει τὸ τοῦ  
 εὖρους μέτρον κατὰ λόγον εἶναι, σταδίους γὰρ  
 πεντεκαίδεκα ῥεῦμα ἐκάτερον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχει·  
 7 ναυσίπορός τε ὁ Τίβερις ἀμφοτέρωθι μένει. τὸ  
 μὲν οὖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέρος ἐς τὸν λιμένα  
 τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται, ὧν ἐκτὸς πόλιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐδείμαντο, τεῖχος περιβε-  
 βλημένην ἐχυρὸν μάλιστα, Πόρτον τε αὐτὴν τῷ  
 8 λιμένι ὁμωνύμως καλοῦσιν. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ πρὸς  
 τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ Τιβερίδος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολῇ<sup>1</sup>  
 πόλις Ὀστία κεῖται, τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡϊόνος  
 ἐκτός, λόγου μὲν πολλοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξία, νῦν  
 9 δὲ ἀτείχιστος παντάπασιν οὖσα. ὁδὸν τοίτην, ἣ

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τῇ ἐτέρᾳ . . . ἐκβολῇ Haury, coll. πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ  
 (abovne): πρὸ τῆς ἐτέρας . . . ἐκβολῆς MSS.

selves into Liguria and remained there; but all the rest were destroyed. After this Vittigis, seeing that the enemy were enjoying a large degree of freedom, not only in taking out of the city whatever they wished, but also in bringing in provisions both by land and by sea, decided to seize the harbour, which the Romans call "Portus."

This harbour is distant from the city one hundred and twenty-six stades; for Rome lacks only so much of being on the sea; and it is situated where the Tiber River has its mouth.<sup>1</sup> Now as the Tiber flows down from Rome, and reaches a point rather near the sea, about fifteen stades from it, the stream divides into two parts and makes there the Sacred Island, as it is called. As the river flows on the island becomes wider, so that the measure of its breadth corresponds to its length, for the two streams have between them a distance of fifteen stades; and the Tiber remains navigable on both sides. Now the portion of the river on the right empties into the harbour, and beyond the mouth the Romans in ancient times built on the shore a city,<sup>2</sup> which is surrounded by an exceedingly strong wall; and it is called, like the harbour, "Portus." But on the left at the point where the other part of the Tiber empties into the sea is situated the city of Ostia, lying beyond the place where the river-bank ends, a place of great consequence in olden times, but now entirely without walls. Moreover, the Romans

<sup>1</sup> The northern mouth.

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor Claudius cut the northern channel for the river, in order to prevent inundations of Rome, and made the "Portus Claudii," opening to the sea, near its mouth; a second enclosed harbour, adjoining that of Claudius, was built by Trajan.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου φέρει, ὁμαλήν τε καὶ  
 ἐμπόδιον οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαῖοι  
 10 πεποίηται. βάρεις τε αἰὲν πολλαὶ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐν  
 τῷ λιμένι ὀρμίζονται, καὶ βόες οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν  
 11 παρασκευῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐστᾶσιν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν οἱ  
 ἔμποροι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἀφίκωνται,  
 ἄραντες τὰ φορτία ἐνθένδε καὶ ταῦτα ἐνθέμενοι ἐν  
 ταῖς βάρεσι, πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίδος ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Ῥώμην, ἰστίοις μὲν ἢ κώπαις ἤκιστα χρώμενοι,  
 ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἀνέμῳ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα οἷά τέ ἐστι τὰ  
 πλοῖα ὠθεῖσθαι συχνά τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖ-  
 στον<sup>1</sup> ἐλίσσομένου καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἰόντος,  
 οὐδέ τι ἐνεργεῖν αἱ κώπαι δύνανται, τῆς τοῦ ὕδα-  
 τος ῥύμης ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐταῖς αἰὲν φερομένης.  
 12 βρόχους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βάρεων ἐς τῶν βοῶν τοὺς  
 αὐχένας ἀρτήσαντες ἔλκουσιν αὐτὰς ὥσπερ ἀμά-  
 13 ξας ἄχρι ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐτέρωθι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ  
 πόλεως Ὀστίας ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντι ὑλώδης τε ἡ ὁδός  
 ἐστι καὶ ἄλλως ἀπημελημένη καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ  
 Τιβερίδος ἡϊόνος ἐγγύς, ἅτε τῆς τῶν βάρεων  
 ἀνολκῆς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ οὔσης.  
 14 Ἀφύλακτον οὖν τὴν πρὸς τῷ λιμένι πόλιν  
 εὐρόντες οἱ Γότθοι αὐτὴν τε αὐτοβοεὶ εἶλον καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων τῶν ταύτῃ ὠκημένων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν,  
 15 καὶ τὸν λιμένα ξὺν αὐτῇ ἔσχον. χιλίους τε σφῶν  
 ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς καταστησάμενοι ἐς τὰ στρατό-  
 16 πεδα οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς  
 πολιορκουμένοις τὰ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐσκομίζεσθαι  
 ἀδύνατα ἦν, ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς Ὀστίας πόνῳ τε, ὥς  
 17 τὸ εἰκός, καὶ κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ καταί-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ πλεῖστον K : om. L.

at the very beginning made a road leading from Portus to Rome, which was smooth and presented no difficulty of any kind. And many barges are always anchored in the harbour ready for service, and no small number of oxen stand in readiness close by. Now when the merchants reach the harbour with their ships, they unload their cargoes and place them in the barges, and sail by way of the Tiber to Rome; but they do not use sails or oars at all, for the boats cannot be propelled in the stream by any wind since the river winds about exceedingly and does not follow a straight course, nor can oars be employed, either, since the force of the current is always against them. Instead of using such means, therefore, they fasten ropes from the barges to the necks of oxen, and so draw them just like waggons up to Rome. But on the other side of the river, as one goes from the city of Ostia to Rome, the road is shut in by woods and in general lies neglected, and is not even near the bank of the Tiber, since there is no towing of barges on that road.

So the Goths, finding the city at the harbour unguarded, captured it at the first onset and slew many of the Romans who lived there, and so took possession of the harbour as well as the city. And they established a thousand of their number there as guards, while the remainder returned to the camps. In consequence of this move it was impossible for the besieged to bring in the goods which came by sea, except by way of Ostia, a route which naturally involved great labour and danger besides. For the



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ρειν ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων νῆες τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον, ἀλλ'  
 ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ ὠρμίζοντο, ἡμέρας ὁδῷ τῆς Ὀστίας  
 18 ἀπέχοντι. ἐνθένδε τε τὰ φορτία αἰρόμενοι  
 ἐκόμιζον μόλις· αἴτιον δὲ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία ἐγί-  
 νετο. Βελισάριος γὰρ περὶ τῷ Ῥώμῃς περιβόλῳ  
 δείσας τὸν λιμένα κρατύνασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ φυλακῇ<sup>1</sup>  
 19 ἴσχυσεν. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν εἰ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐφύλασσον, οὐ ποτε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποπειρά-  
 σθαι τοῦ χωρίου, ἐχυροῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντος.

## XXVII

- Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τειχομαχοῦντες ἀπε-  
 κρούσθησαν, τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Γότθοι ἔδρασαν.  
 ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον εἵκοσιν ἢ ὁ Πόρτος ἢ τε πόλις  
 καὶ ὁ λιμὴν ἐάλω, Μαρτῖνός τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς  
 ἦκον, ἑξακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας  
 2 ἱππεῖς ἐπαγομένῳ. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλείστοι Οὐν-  
 νοί τε ἦσαν καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἄνται, οἱ ὑπὲρ  
 ποταμὸν Ἰστρον οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἐκείνῃ ὄχθης  
 3 ἴδρυνται. Βελισάριος δὲ ἦσθη τε αὐτῶν τῇ  
 παρουσίᾳ καὶ πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-  
 4 μίους εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν ᾤετο. τῇ γοῦν ὕστεραία  
 τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, θυμοειδῇ τε καὶ  
 δραστήριον, Τραϊανὸν ὄνομα, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν  
 διακοσίους ἱππέας λαβόντα, ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς τῶν  
 βαρβάρων ἰέναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν χαρακωμάτων  
 ἐγγυτέρω ἴκωνται, ἀναβάντας ἐπὶ λόφου ὑψηλοῦ

<sup>1</sup> φυλακῇ K : μηχανῇ L.

Roman ships were not even able to put in there any longer, but they anchored at Anthium,<sup>1</sup> a day's journey distant from Ostia. And they found great difficulty in carrying the cargoes thence to Rome, the reason for this being the scarcity of men. For Belisarius, fearing for the fortifications of Rome, had been unable to strengthen the harbour with any garrison at all, though I think that if even three hundred men had been on guard there, the barbarians would never have made an attempt on the place, which is exceedingly strong.

## XXVII

THIS exploit, then, was accomplished by the Goths on the third day after they were repulsed in the assault on the wall. But twenty days after the city and harbour of Portus were captured, Martinus and Valerian arrived, bringing with them sixteen hundred horsemen, the most of whom were Huns and Sclaveni<sup>2</sup> and Antae,<sup>3</sup> who are settled above the Ister River not far from its banks. And Belisarius was pleased by their coming and thought that thenceforth his army ought to carry the war against the enemy. On the following day, accordingly, he commanded one of his own bodyguards, Trajan by name, an impetuous and active fighter, to take two hundred horsemen of the guards and go straight towards the enemy, and as soon as they came near the camps to go up on a high hill (which he pointed out to him)

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Antium.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Slavonians, described in Book VI. xxvi. and Book VII. xiv. ff.

<sup>3</sup> A Slavic people, described in Book VII. xiv.

- 5 ἡσυχάζειν, δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. ἦν δὲ οἱ  
πολέμιοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσιν, ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν τὴν  
μάχην οὐκ εἶν γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ξίφους ἢ δορατίου  
τινὸς ἄπτεσθαι, χρήσθαι δὲ μόνοις τοξεύμασιν,  
ἡνίκα τέ οἱ τὴν φaréτραν οὐδὲν ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν  
ἴδῃ,<sup>1</sup> φεύγειν τε κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντα  
6 καὶ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἀναχωρεῖν δρόμῳ. ταῦτα  
ἐπιστείλας, τῶν τε τοξευμάτων τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ  
τοὺς ἀμφὶ ταύταις τεχνίτας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε.  
Τραϊανὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐκ πύλης Σα-  
λαρίας ἦει ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον.  
7 καὶ οἱ μὲν, καταπεπληγμένοι τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ, ἐβοή-  
θουν ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων, ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἐκ τῶν  
8 δυνατῶν ἐσκευάσθαι τετύχηκεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ  
Τραϊανὸν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ὄνπερ αὐτοῖς  
Βελισάριος ἔδειξεν, ἐνθένδε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡμύ-  
9 νοντο βάλλοντες. καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀτράκτους ἅτε  
ἐς πολὺν ἐμπίπτοντας ὄμιλον ἀνθρώπου ἢ ἵππου  
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπιτυγχάνειν ξυνέβαινε. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ βέλη ἤδη ἐπελελοίπει, οἶδε κατὰ  
τάχος ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνον, διώκοντές τε οἱ Γότθοι  
10 ἐνέκειντο. ὥς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγγυτέρω ἴκοντο,  
τά τε ἐκ τῶν μηχανῶν τοξεύματα οἱ τεχνῖται  
ἐνήργουν, καὶ τῆς διώξεως οἱ βάρβαροι κατωρ-  
11 ρωδηκότες ἀπέσχοντο. λέγονται δὲ Γότθοι οὐχ  
ἦσσαν ἢ χίλιοι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ<sup>2</sup> ἀποθανεῖν.  
ἡμέραις δὲ ὀλίγαις ὕστερον Βελισάριος Μουνδί-  
λαν τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕτερον,<sup>3</sup> καὶ Διο-  
γένην, διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, ξὺν

<sup>1</sup> ἴδῃ Hoeschel : ἴδοιεν K, ἴδει L.

<sup>2</sup> τούτῳ L : om. K.

<sup>3</sup> τῶν δορ. . . . ἕτερον K : τὸν δορυφόρον τὸ αὐτοῦ ἑταῖρον L.

and remain quietly there. And if the enemy should come against them, he was not to allow the battle to come to close quarters, nor to touch sword or spear in any case, but to use bows only, and as soon as he should find that his quiver had no more arrows in it, he was to flee as hard as he could with no thought of shame and retire to the fortifications on the run. Having given these instructions, he held in readiness both the engines for shooting arrows and the men skilled in their use. Then Trajan with the two hundred men went out from the Salarian Gate against the camp of the enemy. And they, being filled with amazement at the suddenness of the thing, rushed out from the camps, each man equipping himself as well as he could. But the men under Trajan galloped to the top of the hill which Belisarius had shewn them, and from there began to ward off the barbarians with missiles. And since their shafts fell among a dense throng, they were for the most part successful in hitting a man or a horse. But when all their missiles had at last failed them, they rode off to the rear with all speed, and the Goths kept pressing upon them in pursuit. But when they came near the fortifications, the operators of the engines began to shoot arrows from them, and the barbarians became terrified and abandoned the pursuit. And it is said that not less than one thousand Goths perished in this action. A few days later Belisarius sent Mundilas, another of his own bodyguard, and Diogenes, both exceptionally capable warriors, with three hundred guardsmen,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ὑπασπισταῖς τριακοσίοις στείλας, ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν  
 τοῖς προτέροις ἐκέλευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα  
 12 ἐποίουν. ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ξυνη-  
 νέχθη αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσσους, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλείους, ἢ ἐν  
 τῷ προτέρῳ ἔργῳ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολωλέναι.  
 13 πέμψας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ξὺν ἵππεῦσι τριακοσίοις  
 Ὀῖλαν τὸν δορυφόρον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ὅμοια τοὺς  
 14 πολεμίους ἐργάσονται, ταῦτὰ ἔδρασε. τρεῖς τε,  
 καθάπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιησάμενος  
 τῶν ἐναντίων ἀμφὶ τετρακισχιλίουσ διέφθειρεν.  
 15 Οὐίττιγισ δὲ (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰσήει τὸ διαλλάσ-  
 σον ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τῆς τε ὀπλίσεως καὶ  
 τῆς ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἔργα μελέτης) ῥᾶστα καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ᾤετο τὰ ἀνήκεστα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι,  
 ἣν γε στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ἔφοδοι  
 16 ποιοίη. ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἵππεῖς πεντακοσίους, ἄγ-  
 χιστά τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἵεναι κελεύσας, καὶ  
 ὅσα πρὸς ὀλίγων πολλάκις πολεμίων πεπόνθασι,  
 ταῦτα δὴ ἐς ξύμπασαν τὴν ἐκείνων στρατιὰν  
 17 ἐπιδείξασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίῳ ὑψηλῷ γενό-  
 μενοι τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι  
 18 ἔξω βελῶν, ἴσταντο. Βελισάριος δὲ ἄνδρας τε  
 ἀπολέξας χιλίους καὶ Βέσσαν αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα  
 ἐπιστήσας ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους  
 19 ἐπέστελλεν. οἱ δὲ κύκλωσιν τε τῶν βαρβάρων  
 ποιησάμενοι καὶ κατὰ νώτου αἰεὶ βάλλοντες  
 20 κτείνουσί τε συχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βιασά-  
 μενοι κατελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδίου ἠνάγκασαν. ἔνθα  
 δὴ τῆς μάχης οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ  
 χειρὸς γενομένης, τῶν Γότθων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ  
 διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες μόλις διαφυγόντες

commanding them to do the same thing as the others had done before. And they acted according to his instructions. Then, when the enemy confronted them, the result of the encounter was that no fewer than in the former action, perhaps even more, perished in the same way. And sending even a third time the guardsman Oilas with three hundred horsemen, with instructions to handle the enemy in the same way, he accomplished the same result. So in making these three sallies, in the manner told by me, Belisarius destroyed about four thousand of his antagonists.

But Vittigis, failing to take into account the difference between the two armies in point of equipment of arms and of practice in warlike deeds, thought that he too would most easily inflict grave losses upon the enemy, if only he should make his attack upon them with a small force. He therefore sent five hundred horsemen, commanding them to go close to the fortifications, and to make a demonstration against the whole army of the enemy of the very same tactics as had time and again been used against them, to their sorrow, by small bands of the foe. And so, when they came to a high place not far from the city, but just beyond the range of missiles, they took their stand there. But Belisarius selected a thousand men, putting Bessas in command, and ordered them to engage with the enemy. And this force, by forming a circle around the enemy and always shooting at them from behind, killed a large number, and by pressing hard upon the rest compelled them to descend into the plain. There a hand-to-hand battle took place between forces not evenly matched in strength, and most of the Goths were destroyed, though some few with difficulty



# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 21 εἰς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. οὓς δὴ ὁ Οὐίττιγισ ἄτε τῷ ἀνάνδρῳ ἡσσημένους ἐκάκιζε, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐτέροις τισὶν ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἡσύχαζε, τρισὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐκ πάντων τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἄνδρας ἀπολεξάμενος πεντακοσίους ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν ἐπι-  
 22 δεῖξασθαι ἀρετῆς ἄξια. οὓς ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριος ἐγγυτέρῳ ἤκοντας εἶδε, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους καὶ ἄρχοντας Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Βαλε-  
 23 ριανὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστελλεν. ἵππομαχίας τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως γεγεννημένης, τῷ πλήθει Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες τῶν πολεμίων, τρέπουσιν τε αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καὶ σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας διαφθείρουσι.
- 24 Καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίῳις δεινὸν τε καὶ τύχης ἐναντίωμα παντάπασιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, εἰ πολλοὶ τε ὄντες πρὸς ὀλίγων πολεμίων ἐπιόντων σφίσιν ἡσσῶνται καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους αὐθις ἰόντες ἐπ'  
 25 αὐτοὺς διαφθείρονται. Βελισάριον δὲ δημοσία μὲν τῆς ξυνέσεως Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπῆνουν, ἐν θαύματι αὐτήν,<sup>1</sup> ὥς τὸ εἶκός, μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡρώτων οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι ὅτῳ ποτὲ τεκμαιρόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἥ τοὺς πολεμίους οὕτως ἡσσημένος διέφυγεν, εὐελπὶς ἐγεγόνει τῷ πολέμῳ  
 26 κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν περιέσεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὥς αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ξυν' ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν κατενόησεν ὅτι ποτὲ τὸ διαφέρειν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτήν K : αὐτόν L.

made their escape and returned to their own camp. And Vittigis reviled these men, insisting that cowardice had been the cause of their defeat, and undertaking to find another set of men to retrieve the loss after no long time, he remained quiet for the present ; but three days later he selected men from all the camps, five hundred in number, and bade them make a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. Now as soon as Belisarius saw that these men had come rather near, he sent out against them fifteen hundred men under the commanders Martinus and Valerian. And a cavalry battle taking place immediately, the Romans, being greatly superior to the enemy in numbers, routed them without any trouble and destroyed practically all of them.

And to the enemy it seemed in every way a dreadful thing and a proof that fortune stood against them, if, when they were many and the enemy who came against them were few, they were defeated, and when, on the other hand, they in turn went in small numbers against their enemy, they were likewise destroyed. Belisarius, however, received a public vote of praise from the Romans for his wisdom, at which they not unnaturally marvelled greatly, but in private his friends asked him on what he had based his judgment on that day when he had escaped from the enemy after being so completely defeated,<sup>1</sup> and why he had been confident that he would overcome them decisively in the war. And he said that in engaging with them at the first with only a few men he had noticed just what the difference was between the two armies, so

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the battle described in chap. xviii.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ στρατιᾷ εἴη, ὥστε ἦν κατὰ λόγον  
 τῆς δυνάμεως τὰς ξυμβολὰς ποιοίη, οὐδὲν ἂν τῇ  
 σφετέρᾳ ὀλιγανθρωπία τὸ τῶν πολεμίων λυμή-  
 27 νασθαι πλήθος. διαφέρειν δέ,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι  
 μὲν<sup>2</sup> σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι Οὐννοὶ  
 ἵπποτοξόται εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί, Γότθων δὲ τὸ ἔργον  
 τοῦτο οὐδενὶ ἡσκηται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς  
 μόνοις δορατίοις τε καὶ ξίφεσιν εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι,  
 οἱ δὲ τοξόται πεζοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὀπλι-  
 28 τῶν καλυπτόμενοι ἐς μάχην καθίστανται. οἱ  
 τε οὖν ἵππεῖς, ἦν μὴ ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ ξυμβολῇ εἴη,  
 οὐκ ἔχοντες καθ' ὅ τι ἀμυνοῦνται πρὸς τῶν ἐναν-  
 τίων τοξεύμασι χρωμένων, εὐπετῶς ἂν<sup>3</sup> βαλλό-  
 μενοι διαφθείρονται,<sup>4</sup> καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ κατ' ἀνδρῶν  
 ἵππέων ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἱκανοὶ  
 29 εἶεν. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἰσχυρίζετο τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς πρὸς  
 Ῥωμαίων ἡσσῆσθαι. Γότθοι δὲ τῶν σφίσι ξυμ-  
 βεβηκότων τὸ παράλογον ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες οὔτε  
 κατ' ὀλίγους τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον  
 ἐχώρουν οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐδίω-  
 κον, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσον ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων  
 ἀπώσασθαι.

## XXVIII

Ὅστερον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἅπαντες, ἐπαρθέντες  
 τοῖς φθάσασιν εὐτυχήμασι, παντί τε τῷ Γότθων  
 στρατεύματι ὤργων διὰ μάχης ἵεναι καὶ πολε-  
 μητέα εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς σφίσιν ᾤοντο.

<sup>1</sup> διαφέρειν δέ Haurv: διαφέρειν μὲν K, καὶ διαφέρειν μὲν L.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν K: om. L. <sup>3</sup> ἂν K: om. L.

<sup>4</sup> διαφθείρονται L: διαφθείρωνται K.

that if he should fight his battles with them with a force which was in strength proportionate to theirs,<sup>1</sup> the multitudes of the enemy could inflict no injury upon the Romans by reason of the smallness of their numbers. And the difference was this, that practically all the Romans and their allies, the Huns, are good mounted bowmen, but not a man among the Goths has had practice in this branch, for their horsemen are accustomed to use only spears and swords, while their bowmen enter battle on foot and under cover of the heavy-armed men. So the horsemen, unless the engagement is at close quarters, have no means of defending themselves against opponents who use the bow, and therefore can easily be reached by the arrows and destroyed; and as for the foot-soldiers, they can never be strong enough to make sallies against men on horseback. It was for these reasons, Belisarius declared, that the barbarians had been defeated by the Romans in these last engagements. And the Goths, remembering the unexpected outcome of their own experiences, desisted thereafter from assaulting the fortifications of Rome in small numbers and also from pursuing the enemy when harassed by them, except only so far as to drive them back from their own camps.

## XXVIII

BUT later on the Romans, elated by the good fortune they had already enjoyed, were with one accord eager to do battle with the whole Gothic army and thought that they should make war in the open field.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* smaller, but equal in strength.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 2 Βελισάριος δέ, πάμπολυ ἔτι εἶναι τὸ διαφέρον  
 ἐν ἀμφοτέροις οἶόμενος, ὥκνει τε ἀεὶ τῷ παντὶ  
 διακινδυνεύειν στρατεύματι καὶ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς  
 ἐσπούδαζέ τε ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπενόει ἐπὶ τοὺς πο-  
 3 λεμίους. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακιζόμενος πρὸς τε τοῦ στρα-  
 τοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεῖπε, παντὶ μὲν  
 τῷ στρατῷ μάχεσθαι ἤθελε, τὴν δὲ ξυμβολὴν ἐξ  
 4 ἐπιδρομῆς οὐδέν τι ἦσσον ποιήσασθαι. πολλάκις  
 τε ἀπεκρούσθη ἐς τοῦτο ὀρμήσας, καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον  
 ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀποθέσθαι ἠνάγκαστο, ἐπεὶ  
 προγνόντας τὰ ἐσόμενα πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων τοὺς  
 5 πολεμίους ἐν παρασκευῇ παρὰ δόξαν εὔρε. διὸ  
 δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμαχήσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν  
 ἤθελε, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄσμενοι ἐς τὴν μάχην  
 καθίσταντο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέροις τὰ ἐς τὴν  
 ξυμβολὴν ὥς ἄριστα ἦσκητο, Βελισάριος μὲν  
 ἀγείρας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον τοιάδε παρεκελεύ-  
 σατο·
- 6 “Οὐ μαλακίαν τινὰ καταγνοὺς ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες  
 συστρατιῶται, οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμίων κατορρωδήσας  
 τὴν δύναμιν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμβολὴν ὥκνουν,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δια-  
 φέρουσιν εὖ καθειστήκει τὰ πράγματα, διασώ-  
 σασθαι ὥμην δεῖν ἐς ἀεὶ τὴν τῆς εὐπραξίας  
 7 αἰτίαν. οἷς γὰρ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ παρόντα χωρεῖ,  
 ἐφ’ ἕτερον<sup>1</sup> μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀξύμφορον οἶμαι.  
 ὁρῶν μέντοι ἐς τόνδε ὑμᾶς προθυμουμένους τὸν  
 κίνδυνον, εὐελπίς τέ εἰμι καὶ οὔποτε ὑμῶν τῇ

<sup>1</sup> ἐφ’ ἕτερον K: ὑφ’ ἐτέρων L, ἐφ’ ἐτέρων V<sub>1</sub>.

Belisarius, however, considering that the difference in size of the two armies was still very great, continued to be reluctant to risk a decisive battle with his whole army; and so he busied himself still more with his sallies and kept planning them against the enemy. But when at last he yielded his point because of the abuse heaped upon him by the army and the Romans in general, though he was willing to fight with the whole army, yet nevertheless he wished to open the engagement by a sudden sally. And many times he was frustrated when he was on the point of doing this, and was compelled to put off the attack to the following day, because he found to his surprise that the enemy had been previously informed by deserters as to what was to be done and were unexpectedly ready for him. For this reason, then, he was now willing to fight a decisive battle even in the open field, and the barbarians gladly came forth for the encounter. And when both sides had been made ready for the conflict as well as might be, Belisarius gathered his whole army and exhorted them as follows:

“It is not because I detected any cowardice on your part, fellow-soldiers, nor because I was terrified at the strength of the enemy, that I have shrunk from the engagement with them, but I saw that while we were carrying on the war by making sudden sallies matters stood well with us, and consequently I thought that we ought to adhere permanently to the tactics which were responsible for our success. For I think that when one’s present affairs are going to one’s satisfaction, it is inexpedient to change to another course of action. But since I see that you are eager for this danger, I am filled with con-



- 8 ὀρμῇ ἐμποδὼν στήσομαι.<sup>1</sup> οἶδα γὰρ ὡς τὸ  
 πλεῖστον αἰεὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ῥοπῆς ἢ τῶν  
 μαχομένων κεκληήρωται γνώμη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ  
 9 τούτων προθυμίᾳ κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. ὥς μὲν  
 οὖν ὀλίγοι μετὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τεταγμένοι πλήθους  
 περιεῖναι οἰοί τέ εἰσι τῶν ἐναντίων ἐξεπίσταται  
 ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, οὐκ ἀκοῇ λαβὼν, ἀλλ' ἐς πείραν  
 10 ἀγῶνος τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἤκων. ὅπως δὲ μὴ  
 καταισχύνητε μήτε τὴν προτέραν τῶν ἐμῶι  
 στρατηγημάτων δόξαν μήτε τὴν ἐκ τῆσδε ὑμῶι  
 11 τῆς προθυμίας ἐλπίδα, ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. πάντα  
 γὰρ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πεπραῆχθαι  
 ξυμβαίνει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν κρίνεσθαι τῆς  
 12 παρούσης ἡμέρας ἀνάγκη. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τὸν πα-  
 ρόντα καιρὸν ἡμῖν ξυλλαμβάνοντα, ὃς ἡμῖν  
 δεδουλωμένου τοῖς φθάσασι τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων  
 φρονήματος ῥάδιον, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, τὴν ἐκείνων  
 13 ἐπικράτησιν θήσεται. τῶν γὰρ πολλάκις ἡτυχη-  
 κότων ἤκιστα ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γινώ-  
 μαι. ἵππου δὲ ἢ τόξου ἢ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ὄπλου  
 14 ὑμῶν φειδέσθω μηδεῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ  
 παραυτίκα ὑπὲρ πάντων ἕτερα τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 μάχην διαφθειρομένων ἀνθυπουργήσω.”
- 15 Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα παρακελευσάμενος  
 ἐξῆγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τε πυλίδος Πιγκιανῆς  
 καὶ Σαλαρίας πύλης, ὀλίγους δὲ τινας διὰ πύλης  
 16 Αὐρηλίας ἐς Νέρωνος πεδίου ἐκέλευεν ἵεναι. οἷς  
 δὲ Βαλεντίνου ἐπέστησε καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ  
 ἄρχοντα, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέστελλε μάχης μὲν μηδε-  
 μιᾶς ἄρχειν, μηδὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν ἐναντίων  
 ἐγγυτέρῳ ἵεναι, δόκησιν δὲ παρέχειν αἰεὶ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐμποδὼν στήσομαι K : ἐμποδὼν ἔσομαι L.

fidence and shall never oppose your ardour. For I know that the greatest factor in the decision of war is always the attitude of the fighting men, and it is generally by their enthusiasm that successes are won. Now, therefore, the fact that a few men drawn up for battle with valour on their side are able to overcome a multitude of the enemy, is well known by every man of you, not by hearsay, but by daily experience of fighting. And it will rest with you not to bring shame upon the former glories of my career as general, nor upon the hope which this enthusiasm of yours inspires. For the whole of what has already been accomplished by us in this war must of necessity be judged in accordance with the issue of the present day. And I see that the present moment is also in our favour, for it will, in all probability, make it easier for us to gain the mastery over the enemy, because their spirit has been enslaved by what has gone before. For when men have often met with misfortune, their hearts are no longer wont to thrill even slightly with manly valour. And let no one of you spare horse or bow or any weapon. For I will immediately provide you with others in place of all that are destroyed in the battle."

After speaking these words of exhortation, Belisarius led out his army through the small Pincian Gate and the Salarian Gate, and commanded some few men to go through the Aurelian Gate into the Plain of Nero. These he put under the command of Valentinus, a commander of a cavalry detachment, and he directed him not to begin any fighting, or to go too close to the camp of the enemy, but constantly to give the appearance of being

- αὐτίκα προσβάλλειν, ὅπως μὴ τῶν ἐνταῦθα  
πολεμίῳ τινὲς τὴν ἐκείνῃ γέφυραν διαβαίνοντες  
ἐπιβοηθεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χαρακωμάτων  
17 οἰοί τε ὦσι. πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων, ὥσπερ μοι  
προδεδήλωται, τῶν ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ στρατο-  
πεδευομένων βαρβάρων ἱκανόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο τού-  
τους δὴ ἅπαντας οὐ μεταλαχόντας τῆς ξυμβολῆς  
18 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ κεχωρίσθαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
Ῥωμαίων τοῦ δήμου ἐθελούσιοί τινες ὅπλα ἀνε-  
λόμενοι εἶποντο, ἐς μὲν τὴν ξυμβολὴν αὐτοὺς  
ξυντετάχθαι σφίσιν οὐκ εἶασε, δείσας μὴ ἐν τῷ  
ἀγῶνι γενόμενοι κατορρωδήσωσί τε τὸν κίνδυνον  
καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ξυνταράξωσιν ὅλον, βάνανσοί  
τε ἄνδρες καὶ πολέμου ἀμελέητοι παντάπασιν  
19 ὄντες. ἐκτὸς δὲ πυλῶν Παγκρατιανῶν, αἱ ὑπὲρ  
Τίβεριν ποταμόν εἰσι, φάλαγγα ποιησαμένους  
ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευεν ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, λογισά-  
μενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ὡς, εἶπερ αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς  
ἀμφὶ Βαλεντίνον ἴδωσιν οἱ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ  
πολέμιοι, οὐ ποτε θαρσήσουσι τὸ σφέτερον  
ἀπολιπόντες χαράκωμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ  
20 στρατῷ ἐς μάχην ἵεναι. ἔρμαιον δὲ καὶ λόγου  
πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι ἄνδρας τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος  
τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδου ἀποκεκρίσθαι.  
21 Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἵππομαχίαν μόνοι ἐκείνῃ τῇ  
ἡμέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι ἤθελεν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πεζῶν  
οἱ πλείστοι ἤδη μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκ  
ἀξιοῦντες, ἵππους τε τῶν πολεμίων ληϊσάμενοι  
καὶ τοῦ ἵππεύειν οὐκ ἀμελέητοι γεγεννημένοι,

about to attack immediately, so that none of the enemy in that quarter might be able to cross the neighbouring bridge and come to the assistance of the soldiers from the other camps. For since, as I have previously stated,<sup>1</sup> the barbarians encamped in the Plain of Nero were many, it seemed to him sufficient if these should all be prevented from taking part in the engagement and be kept separated from the rest of the army. And when some of the Roman populace took up arms and followed as volunteers, he would not allow them to be drawn up for battle along with the regular troops, fearing lest, when they came to actual fighting, they should become terrified at the danger and throw the entire army into confusion, since they were labouring men and altogether unpractised in war. But outside the Paneratian Gate, which is beyond the Tiber River, he ordered them to form a phalanx and remain quiet until he himself should give the signal, reasoning, as actually proved to be the case, that if the enemy in the Plain of Nero should see both them and the men under Valentinus, they would never dare leave their camp and enter battle with the rest of the Gothic army against his own forces. And he considered it a stroke of good luck and a very important advantage that such a large number of men should be kept apart from the army of his opponents.

Such being the situation, he wished on that day to engage in a cavalry battle only; and indeed most of the regular infantry were now unwilling to remain in their accustomed condition, but, since they had captured horses as booty from the enemy and had become not unpractised in horsemanship, they were

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xix. 12, xiii. 15.

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- 22 ἱππόται ἦσαν. τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς, ὀλίγους τε ὄντας καὶ οὔτε φάλαγγα ἔχοντας λόγου ἀξίαν ποιήσασθαι οὔτε τοῖς βαρβάροις θαρσήσαντάς πω ἐς χεῖρας ἵεναι, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ καθισταμένους, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἀποθεῖν τοῦ περιβόλου παρατάσσεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα τῆς τάφρου ἐν τάξει μένειν. ὅπως, εἴ γε σφῶν τοὺς ἱππέας τρίπεσθαι ξυμβαίνοι, δέχεσθαί τε οἰοί τε ὧσι τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἅτε ἀκμήτες τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμύνεσθαι.
- 23 Πριγκίπιος δέ τις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυφόροις, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, Πισίδης γένος, καὶ Ταρμούτος "Ἰσαυρος, "Ἐννου τοῦ "Ἰσαύρων ἀρχηγοῦ ἀδελφός. Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε·
- 24 "Στρατηγῶν ἄριστε, μήτε τὸ στράτευμά σοι. ὀλίγον τε ὄν καὶ πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων πολλὰς μαχισόμενον, ἀποτέμνεσθαι ἀξίου τῆς πεζῶν φάλαγγος, μήτε χρῆναι τὸ Ῥωμαίων πεζικὸν ὑβρίζεσθαι οἷον, δι' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς πάλοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τόδε μεγέθους κεχωρηκέναι
- 25 ἀκούομεν. εἰ γάρ τι οὐκ ἀξιόλογον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ εἰργάσθαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κακίας τεκμήριον τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ἄρχοντες τὴν αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιοι, ἵπποις μὲν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει μόνοι ὀχοῦμενοι. κοινὴν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τύχην, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ αὐτῶν μόνος ἕκαστος<sup>1</sup> καὶ
- 26 πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας τὰ πολλὰ<sup>2</sup> χρώμενοι. σὺ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν μόνος ἕκαστος Haury: αὐτῷ μόνῳ K, αὐτῶν μόνῳ ἕκαστος L

<sup>2</sup> τὰ πολλὰ K: πολλῇ L.

now mounted. And since the infantry were few in number and unable even to make a phalanx of any consequence, and had never had the courage to engage with the barbarians, but always turned to flight at the first onset, he considered it unsafe to draw them up at a distance from the fortifications, but thought it best that they should remain in position where they were, close by the moat, his purpose being that, if it should so happen that the Roman horsemen were routed, they should be able to receive the fugitives and, as a fresh body of men, help them to ward off the enemy.

But there were two men among his bodyguards, a certain Principius, who was a man of note and a Pisidian by birth, and Tarmutus, an Isaurian, brother of Ennes who was commander of the Isaurians. These men came before Belisarius and spoke as follows: "Most excellent of generals, we beg you neither to decide that your army, small as it is and about to fight with many tens of thousands of barbarians, be cut off from the phalanx of the infantry, nor to think that one ought to treat with contumely the infantry of the Romans, by means of which, as we hear, the power of the ancient Romans was brought to its present greatness. For if it so happens that they have done nothing of consequence in this war, this is no evidence of the cowardice of the soldiers, but it is the commanders of the infantry who would justly bear the blame, for they alone ride on horseback in the battle-line and are not willing to consider the fortunes of war as shared by all, but as a general thing each one of them by himself takes to flight before the struggle begins. But do you keep all the commanders of



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- πάντας μὲν τοὺς πεζῶν ἄρχοντας, ἱππέας γὰρ ὁρᾷς γεγεννημένους ἥκιστα τε ξυντάττεσθαι τοῖς σφῶν ὑπηκόοις ἐθέλοντας, ξὺν<sup>2</sup> τῷ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἱππέων στρατεύματι ἔχων ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασο, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐς τὴν
- 27 παράταξιν ἡγεῖσθαι ξυγχώρει. πεζοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ξὺν αὐτοῖς οἴσομεν, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ τοῖς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι.”
- 28 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Βελισάριος κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐ ξυνεχώρησεν· αὐτὸν γὰρ ἄνδρε μαχίμῳ ἐς<sup>3</sup> ἄγαν ὄντε ὑπερηγία καὶ πεζοὺς ὀλίγους διακινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἤθελε.
- 29 τέλος δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ βιαζόμενος ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἐς τε τὰς πύλας καὶ ἄνω ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ξὺν Ῥωμαίῳ τῷ δῆμῳ ἀμφὶ τὰς μηχανὰς εἶασε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Πριγκίπιόν τε καὶ Ταρμούτον ἐπιστήσας ὀπισθεν αὐτοὺς ἵστασθαι ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε μὴ τὸν κίνδυνον κατορρωδήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ξυνταράξωσι, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἢν τίς ποτε μοῖρα τρέποιτο, μὴ ὥς ἀπωτάτῳ χωρήσαιεν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς καταφεύγοντες τοὺς διώκοντας οἰοί τε ὥσι ξὺν ἐκείνοις ἀμύνεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> ἱππέας γὰρ Haury: ἱππέας MSS., οὓς γε δὴ ἱππέας Comparetti. <sup>2</sup> ξὺν K: οὓς γε δὴ ξὺν L.

<sup>3</sup> ξυνεχώρησεν αὐτὸν ἄνδρε μαχίμῳ ἐς K, ξυνεχώρησεν. αὐτὸν γὰρ ἀνδριμάχῳ ἐς L.

infantry, since you see that they have become cavalry and that they are quite unwilling to take their stand beside their subordinates, and include them with the rest of the cavalry and so enter this battle, but permit us to lead the infantry into the combat. For since we also are unmounted, as are these troops, we shall do our part in helping them to support the attack of the multitude of barbarians, full of hope that we shall inflict upon the enemy whatever chastisement God shall permit."

When Belisarius heard this request, at first he did not assent to it; for he was exceedingly fond of these two men, who were fighters of marked excellence, and he was unwilling to have a small body of infantry take such a risk. But finally, overborne by the eagerness of the men, he consented to leave only a small number of their soldiers, in company with the Roman populace, to man the gates and the battlement along the top of the wall where the engines of war were, and to put the rest under command of Principius and Tarnutus, ordering them to take position in the rear in regular formation. His purpose in this was, in the first place, to keep these troops from throwing the rest of the army into confusion if they themselves should become panic-stricken at the danger, and, in the second place, in case any division of the cavalry should be routed at any time, to prevent the retreat from extending to an indefinite distance, but to allow the cavalry simply to fall back upon the infantry and make it possible for them, with the infantry's help, to ward off the pursuers.

XXIX

- Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν παρεσκεύαστο ὧδε. Οὐίττιγισ δὲ Γότθους ἐξώπλισεν ἅπαντας, οὐδένα ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν, ὅτι μὴ  
 2 τοὺς ἀπομάχους, ἀπολιπών. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ Μαρκίαν ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ μένειν ἐκέλευε, φυλακῆς τε τῆς ἐν γεφύρᾳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐιθένδε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·  
 3 “Ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν τισι περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ δεδιέναι δοκοίην καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐς ὑμᾶς φιλοφροσύνην ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ ταυτὴν ὑπὲρ εὐ-  
 4 τολμίας ὑμῖν ἐπαγωγὰ φθέγγεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου λογίζονται. εἰώθασι γὰρ ἡμαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι, ὧν μὲν ἂν δέοιντο, πρᾶοιτητι ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, καὶ πολλῶ τῷ διαλλάσσειν καταδεέστεροι τύχωσιν ὄντες, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους δυσπρόσοδοι<sup>1</sup> εἶναι, ὧν τῆς  
 5 ὑπουργίας οὐ χρήζουσιν. ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὔτε βίου καταστροφῆς οὔτε ἀρχῆς στερήσεως μέλει. εὐ-  
 6 ξαίμην γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὴν πορφυρίδα ταύτην ἀπο-  
 7 δύσασθαι τήμερον, εἰ Γότθους ἀνὴρ αὐτὴν ἐνδιδύ-  
 8 σκεσθαι μέλλοι. καὶ τὸ Θεωδάτου πέρας Ὀλβιον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγενῆσθαι νερόμικα, ᾧ γε ταῖς τῶν ὁμοφύλων χερσὶ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἀφεί-  
 9 ρται καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἅμα τετύχηκε. συμφορὰ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ προσπίπτουσα μὴ συμφθειρομέιου τοῦ γένους τοῖς γε οὐκ ἀνοήτοις παραψυχῆς οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> δυσπρόσοδοι K: δυσπρόσωποι L.

## XXIX

IN this fashion the Romans had made their preparations for the encounter. As for Vittigis, he had armed all the Goths, leaving not a man behind in the camps, except those unfit for fighting. And he commanded the men under Marcias to remain in the Plain of Nero, and to attend to the guarding of the bridge, that the enemy might not attack his men from that direction. He himself then called together the rest of the army and spoke as follows:

“It may perhaps seem to some of you that I am fearful about my sovereignty, and that this is the motive which has led me, in the past, to shew a friendly spirit toward you and, on the present occasion, to address you with seductive words in order to inspire you with courage. And such reasoning is not out of accord with the ways of men. For unenlightened men are accustomed to shew gentleness toward those whom they want to make use of, even though these happen to be in a much humbler station than they, but to be difficult of access to others whose assistance they do not desire. As for me, however, I care neither for the end of life nor for the loss of power. Nay, I should even pray that I might put off this purple to-day, if a Goth were to put it on. And I have always regarded the end of Theodatus as one of the most fortunate, in that he was privileged to lose both his sovereignty and his life at the hands of men of his own nation. For a calamity which falls upon an individual without involving his nation also in destruction does not lack an element of consolation, in the view, at least, of men who are not wanting in

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- 8 ἐστέρηται. ἐννοοῦντά με δὲ τό τε Βανδύλων  
 πάθος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γελίμερος τέλος οὐδὲν εἰσέρ-  
 χεται μέτριον, ἀλλὰ Ἰότθους μὲν ὁρᾶν μοι δοκῶ  
 ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ δεδουλωμένους, γυναῖκας δὲ ὑμετέ-  
 ρας ἀνδράσιν ἐχθίστοις τὰ πάντων αἷσχιστα  
 ὑπηρετούσας, ἑμαυτὸν δὲ ἀγόμενον καὶ τὴν τῆς  
 Θευδερίχου θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὅπη ποτὲ τοὺς νῦν  
 πολεμίους ἀρέσκει· ταῦτα βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ ὑμᾶς  
 9 ὅπως μὴ προσπέσωσι δείσαντας ἐς μάχην τήνδε  
 καθίστασθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐν τῷ τῆς ξυμβολῆς  
 χωρίῳ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν περὶ πλείονος  
 τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἡτταν σωτηρίας ποιήσαισθε. ἐνὶ  
 γὰρ μόνῳ κακοτυχεῖν ἄνδρες γενναῖοι τῷ τῶν  
 10 πολεμίων ἐλασσοῦσθαι νομίζουσι. θάνατος δέ,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ταχὺς ἦκων, εὐδαίμονας αἰεὶ τοὺς  
 11 πρόσθεν οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντας ἐργάζεται. εἵδηλόν τε  
 ὥς, ἣν μετὰ τούτων ὑμεῖς τῶν λογισμῶν τήνδε  
 τὴν ξυμβολὴν διενέγκητε, ῥᾶστα μὲν τοὺς ἐναν-  
 τίους νικήσετε, ὀλίγους τε ὄντας καὶ Ἰγραικοὺς,<sup>1</sup>  
 12 κολάσετε δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῆς τε ἀδι-  
 κίας καὶ ὑβρεως ἧς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦρξαν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ  
 αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἅπασιν ὑπεραίρειν ἀνχοῦμεν, οἱ δὲ θρασίνοιται  
 καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ἐπαρθέντες, καὶ  
 μόνον ἐφόδιον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀλιγωρίαν.  
 βόσκει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ παρὰ τὴν  
 ἀξίαν εὐτύχημα.”  
 13 Τοσαῦτα καὶ Οὐίπτιγισ παρακελευσάμενος διε-  
 κόσμει τὸ στράτευμα ἐς παράταξιν, πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς  
 μέσον καταστησάμενος, τοὺς ἵππείας δὲ ἐς ἄμφω  
 14 τὰ κέρατα. οὐκ ἄποθεν μέντοι τῶν χαρακωμάτων

<sup>1</sup> γραικοὺς K : γραικοὺς ἢ ἴσους L, ἢ Ἰσαύρους Grotius.

wisdom. But when I reflect upon the fate of the Vandals and the end of Gelimer, the thoughts which come to my mind are of no ordinary kind; nay, I seem to see the Goths and their children reduced to slavery, your wives ministering in the most shameful of all ways to the most hateful of men, and myself and the granddaughter<sup>1</sup> of Theoderic led wherever it suits the pleasure of those who are now our enemies; and I would have you also enter this battle fearing lest this fate befall us. For if you do this, on the field of battle you will count the end of life as more to be desired than safety after defeat. For noble men consider that there is only one misfortune—to survive defeat at the hands of their enemy. But as for death, and especially death which comes quickly, it always brings happiness to those who were before not blest by fortune. It is very clear that if you keep these thoughts in mind as you go through the present engagement, you will not only conquer your opponents most easily, few as they are and Greeks,<sup>2</sup> but will also punish them forthwith for the injustice and insolence with which they, without provocation, have treated us. For although we boast that we are their superiors in valour, in numbers, and in every other respect, the boldness which they feel in confronting us is due merely to elation at our misfortunes; and the only asset they have is the indifference we have shewn. For their self-confidence is fed by their undeserved good fortune.”

With these words of exhortation Vittigis proceeded to array his army for battle, stationing the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the two wings. He did not, however, draw up his phalanx far from the

<sup>1</sup> Matasuntha.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Book IV. xxvii. 38, *noto*.



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- τὴν φάλαγγα διέτασεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἢ τροπὴ γένηται, εὐπετῶς οἱ πολέμιοι καταλαμβανόμενοι διαφθείρωνται, ἐν
- 15 χώρῳ πολλῷ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοῖς γινομένης. ἤλπιζε γάρ, ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἢ μάχῃ συσταδὸν γένηται, αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἀνθέξειν, τεκμαιρόμενος πολλῷ γε ὄντι<sup>1</sup> τῷ παραλόγῳ ὅτι οὐκ ἀντίπαλον τῷ σφετέρῳ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα εἶη.
- 16 Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται πρῶτ' ἀρξάμενοι ἔργου ἐκατέρωθεν εἶχοντο. Οὐίττιγισ δὲ καὶ Βελισάριος ὀπισθεν ἐγκελευόμενοι ἀμφοτέρους ἐς εὐψυχίαν ὥρμων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καθυπέρτερα ἦν
- 17 τὰ Ῥωμαίων, οἳ τε βάρβαροι πρὸς τῶν τοξευμάτων συχνοὶ ἐπιπτον, δίωξις μέντοι αὐτῶν οὐδεμίᾳ
- 18 ἐγένετο. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν πλήθει μεγάλῳ οἱ Γότθοι καθεστῶτες ῥᾶστα δὴ ἐς τῶν διαφθειρομένων τὴν χώραν ἕτεροι ἴσταντο, αἰσθησὶν τε οὐδεμίαν τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀπολλυμένων παρείχοντο. καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανὸν ἐφαίνετο λίαν ὀλίγοις οὖσιν ἐς
- 19 τόδε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἀποκεκρίσθαι. τὴν τε μάχην ἄχρι ἐς τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδα διενεγκοῦσιν ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη διαφθείρασι τῶν πολεμίων βουλομένοις ἦν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανίεναι, ἦν τις αὐτοῖς γένηται σκῆψις.
- 20 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθοὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐγένοντο τρεῖς. Ἀθηνόδωρος τε, ἀνὴρ Ἰσαυρος, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις εὐδόκιμος, καὶ Θεοδωρίσκος τε καὶ Γεώργιος.
- 21 Μαρτίνου δορυφόροι, Καππαδόκαι γένος. αἰεὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐξιόντες μετώπου δόρασι

<sup>1</sup> γε ὄντι K : τοῦτο L.

camps, but very near them, in order that, as soon as the rout should take place, the enemy might easily be overtaken and killed, there being abundance of room for the pursuit. For he expected that if the struggle should become a pitched battle in the plain, they would not withstand him even a short time ; since he judged by the great disparity of numbers that the army of the enemy was no match for his own.

So the soldiers on both sides, beginning in the early morning, opened battle ; and Vittigis and Belisarius were in the rear urging on both armies and inciting them to fortitude. And at first the Roman arms prevailed, and the barbarians kept falling in great numbers before their archery, but no pursuit of them was made. For since the Gothic cavalry stood in dense masses, other men very easily stepped into the places of those who were killed, and so the loss of those who fell among them was in no way apparent. And the Romans evidently were satisfied, in view of their very small number, that the struggle should have such a result for them. So after they had by midday carried the battle as far as the camps of their opponents, and had already slain many of the enemy, they were anxious to return to the city if any pretext should present itself to them. In this part of the action three among the Romans proved themselves brave men above all others, Athenodorus an Isaurian, a man of fair fame among the guards of Belisarius, and Theodoriscus and George, spearmen of Martinus and Cappadocians by birth. For they constantly kept going out beyond the front of the phalanx, and there

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διειργάζοντο τῶν βαρβάρων πολλούς. ταῦτα μὲν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

- 22 Ἐν δὲ Νέρωνος πεδίῳ χρόνον μὲν συχνὸν ἀντε-  
 κίθηντο ἑκάτεροι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι  
 ἐπεκδρομάς τε αἰὲ ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰ δοράτια  
 23 ἔσακοντίζοντες τοὺς Γότθους ἐλύπουν. ἐπεξιέναι  
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἤκιστα ἤθελον, δεδιότες τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων δήμου οὐκ ἄποθεν ὄντας, οὓς δὴ στρα-  
 τιώτας τε ᾤοντο εἶναι καὶ τινα ἐνέδραν ἐς σφᾶς  
 ποιουμένους ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ὅπως κατὰ ἰώτου  
 24 ἰόντες ἀμφιβόλους τε ποιησάμενοι διαφθεί-  
 ρωσιν. ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας μεσουσῆς ὁρμᾷ μὲν τὸ  
 Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, τρέπονται δὲ παρὰ δόξαν οἱ Γότθοι  
 25 τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ καταπλαγέντες. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ  
 χαράκωμα φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνη  
 λόφους ἀναβάντες ἡσύχαζον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν, οὐ στρατιῶται δὲ πάντες,  
 26 ἀλλ' οἱ πλείστοι γυμνὸς ὄμιλος. ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ ἐτέρωθι ὄντος πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατοπέδῳ ναῦται καὶ οἰκέται τοῦ<sup>2</sup> πολέμου  
 μεταλαχεῖν ἐφιεμένοι ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ ταύτῃ  
 27 στρατῷ. καὶ πλήθει μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκπλή-  
 ξαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν, ἀκοσ-  
 28 μίᾳ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔσφηλαν. ἐπιμιξία  
 γὰρ τῇ ἐκείνων ἐς ἀταξίαν πολλὴν οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ἐμπεπτωκότες, καίπερ σφίσι Βαλεντίνου πολλὰ  
 ἐγκελευομένου, τῶν παραγγελλομένων ἤκιστα  
 29 ἤκουον. διόπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐπισπόμενοί

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς K: πρὸς αὐτοὺς L.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ K: τούτου τοῦ L.

despatched many of the barbarians with their spears. Such was the course of events here.

But in the Plain of Nero the two armies remained for a long time facing one another, and the Moors, by making constant sallies and hurling their javelins among the enemy, kept harrying the Goths. For the Goths were quite unwilling to go out against them through fear of the forces of the Roman populace which were not far away, thinking, of course, that they were soldiers and were remaining quiet because they had in mind some sort of an ambush against themselves with the object of getting in their rear, exposing them to attack on both sides, and thus destroying them. But when it was now the middle of the day, the Roman army suddenly made a rush against the enemy, and the Goths were unexpectedly routed, being paralyzed by the suddenness of the attack. And they did not succeed even in fleeing to their camp, but climbed the hills near by and remained quiet. Now the Romans, though many in number, were not all soldiers, but were for the most part a throng of men without defensive armour. For inasmuch as the general was elsewhere, many sailors and servants in the Roman camp, in their eagerness to have a share in the war, mingled with that part of the army. And although by their mere numbers they did fill the barbarians with consternation and turn them to flight, as has been said, yet by reason of their lack of order they lost the day for the Romans. For the intermixture of the above-mentioned men caused the soldiers to be thrown into great disorder, and although Valentinus kept constantly shouting orders to them, they could not hear his commands at all. For this reason they did not even follow up the

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- 30 τινα<sup>1</sup> ἔκτεινον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λόφοις ἡσυχάζοντας  
ἀδεῶς τὰ ποιούμενα θεᾶσθαι ξυνεχώρησαν. οὐδὲ  
τὴν ἐκείνῃ διελεῖν γέφυραν ἐν ἡμῶν ἐποιήσαιτο,  
ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ πόλις μὴ ἐκατέρωθεν πολιορ-  
 31 κοῖτο, τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν  
ἐν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δυναμένων. οὐ μὴν  
οὐδὲ τὴν γέφυραν διαβάντες κατὰ νότου τῶν  
ἐναντίων ἐγένοντο οἱ τοῖς ἡμῶν Βελισάριον ταύτῃ  
ἐμάχοντο. ὅπερ εἰ ἐγγίνοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι, οἶμαι, οἱ  
Γότθοι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν  
αὐτίκα μάλα ἐτράποντο, ὥς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο.  
 32 νῦν δὲ καταλαβόντες τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα  
ἐς ἄρπαγὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐτράποντο, καὶ πολλὰ  
μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀργυρώματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα χρή-  
 33 ματα ἔφερον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι χρόνον μὲν τινα  
θεώμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἡσυχάζον τε καὶ αὐτοῦ  
ἔμενον, τέλος δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες θυμῷ τε πολλῷ  
καὶ κραυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχώ-  
 34 ρησαν. εὐρύοντες δὲ ἀνθρώπους κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὰ  
σφέτερα ληϊζομένους ἔκτεινάν τε συχνούς καὶ  
τοὺς λοιποὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐξήλασαν. ὅσοι γὰρ  
ἐγκαταληφθέντες αὐτῶν οὐ<sup>3</sup> διεφθάρησαν, ἀπὸ  
τῶν ὤμων τὰ χρήματα ῥίψαντες ἄσμενοι ἔφευγον.  
 35 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ ἐγίνετο, ἐν  
τούτῳ ὁ ἄλλος τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἀγχιστα  
τῶν σφετέρων στρατοπέδων ταῖς ἡσπίσιν φραζά-  
μενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους καρτερῶς ἡμύναντο, καὶ  
πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, ἵππους δὲ πολλῷ πλείους  
 36 διέφθειρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν τραυματαῖα  
γεγεννημένοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἵππων σφίσιν διαφθαρέντων

<sup>1</sup> τινα Hoeschel: τινας MSS.

<sup>2</sup> γὰρ L: γὰρ οὐκ K.

<sup>3</sup> οὐ L: om. K.

fugitives or kill a man, but allowed them to stand at rest on the hills and in security to view what was going on. Nor did they take thought to destroy the bridge there, and thus prevent the city from being afterwards besieged on both sides; for, had they done so, the barbarians would have been unable to encamp any longer on the farther side of the Tiber River. Furthermore, they did not even cross the bridge and get in the rear of their opponents who were fighting there with the troops of Belisarius. And if this had been done, the Goths, I think, would no longer have thought of resistance, but they would have turned instantly to flight, each man as he could. But as it was, they took possession of the enemy's camp and turned to plundering his goods, and they set to work carrying thence many vessels of silver and many other valuables. Meanwhile the barbarians for some time remained quietly where they were and observed what was going on, but finally by common consent they advanced against their opponents with great fury and shouting. And finding men in complete disorder engaged in plundering their property, they slew many and quickly drove out the rest. For all who were caught inside the camp and escaped slaughter were glad to cast their plunder from their shoulders and take to flight.

While these things were taking place in the Plain of Nero, meantime the rest of the barbarian army stayed very near their camps and, protecting themselves with their shields, vigorously warded off their opponents, destroying many men and a much larger number of horses. But on the Roman side, when those who had been wounded and those whose horses had



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- ἐξέλιπον τὴν παράταξιν, ἐν ὀλίγῃ καὶ πρότερον  
τῇ στρατιᾷ οὔσῃ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ ὀλιγανθρωπία  
διαφανῆς ἦν, πολὺ τε τὸ διαλλάσσον τοῦ τῶν  
37 Γότθων ὀμίλου ἐφαίη. ἥπερ ἐν νῷ λαβόντες οἱ  
τῶν βαρβάρων ἵππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐπὶ  
τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίους<sup>1</sup> ἐχώρησαν δρόμῳ.  
ὧν δὴ τὰ δόρατα οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ ταύτῃ  
Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο καὶ ἐς τῶν πεζῶν  
38 τὴν φάλαγγα ἦκον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς  
ἐπιόντας ὑφίσταντο, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν οἱ  
πολλοὶ ἔφενγον. αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ῥω-  
μαίων στράτευμα ὑπεχώρει, ἐγκειμένων σφίσι  
τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἡ τροπὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐγίνετο.  
39 Πριγκίπιος δὲ καὶ Ταρμούτος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ  
τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς πεζῶν ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἀρετῆς  
40 ἄξια ἐς αὐτοὺς. μαχομένους τε γὰρ καὶ<sup>2</sup> τρέπε-  
σθαι ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥκιστα ἀξιούντας τῶν Γότθων  
οἱ πλείστοι ἐν θαύματι τοῦτο μέγαλῳ ποιούμενοι  
ἔστησαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πεζοὶ καὶ  
τῶν ἵππέων οἱ πλείστοι ἀδεέστερον διεσώθησαν.  
41 Πριγκίπιος μὲν οὖν, κρεουργηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον,  
αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε, καὶ πεζοὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεσσαράκοντα  
42 καὶ δύο. Ταρμούτος δὲ δύο ἀκόντια Ἰσαυρικὰ  
ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, νύττων τε αἰ-  
τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐπιστροφάδην, ἐπειδὴ κοπτόμενος  
τὸ σῶμα ἀπέειπεν, "Ἐννὸν τὰδελφοῦ ξὺν ἵππεῦσιν  
τισιν ἐπιβεβοηθηκότος, ἀρέπνευσέ τε καὶ δρόμῳ  
ὀξεὶ λύθρου τε καὶ πληγῶν ἔμπλεως ἐπὶ τὸν  
περίβολον οὐδέτερον τῶν ἀκοιτίων ἀποβαλὼν  
43 ἦει. ποδώκης δὲ ὧν φύσει διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε,

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς . . . πολεμίους : τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς πολεμίους K, τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίων L.

<sup>2</sup> ἄξια . . . καὶ K : ἄξια. ἐς αὐτοὺς γὰρ μαχομένους τε καὶ L.

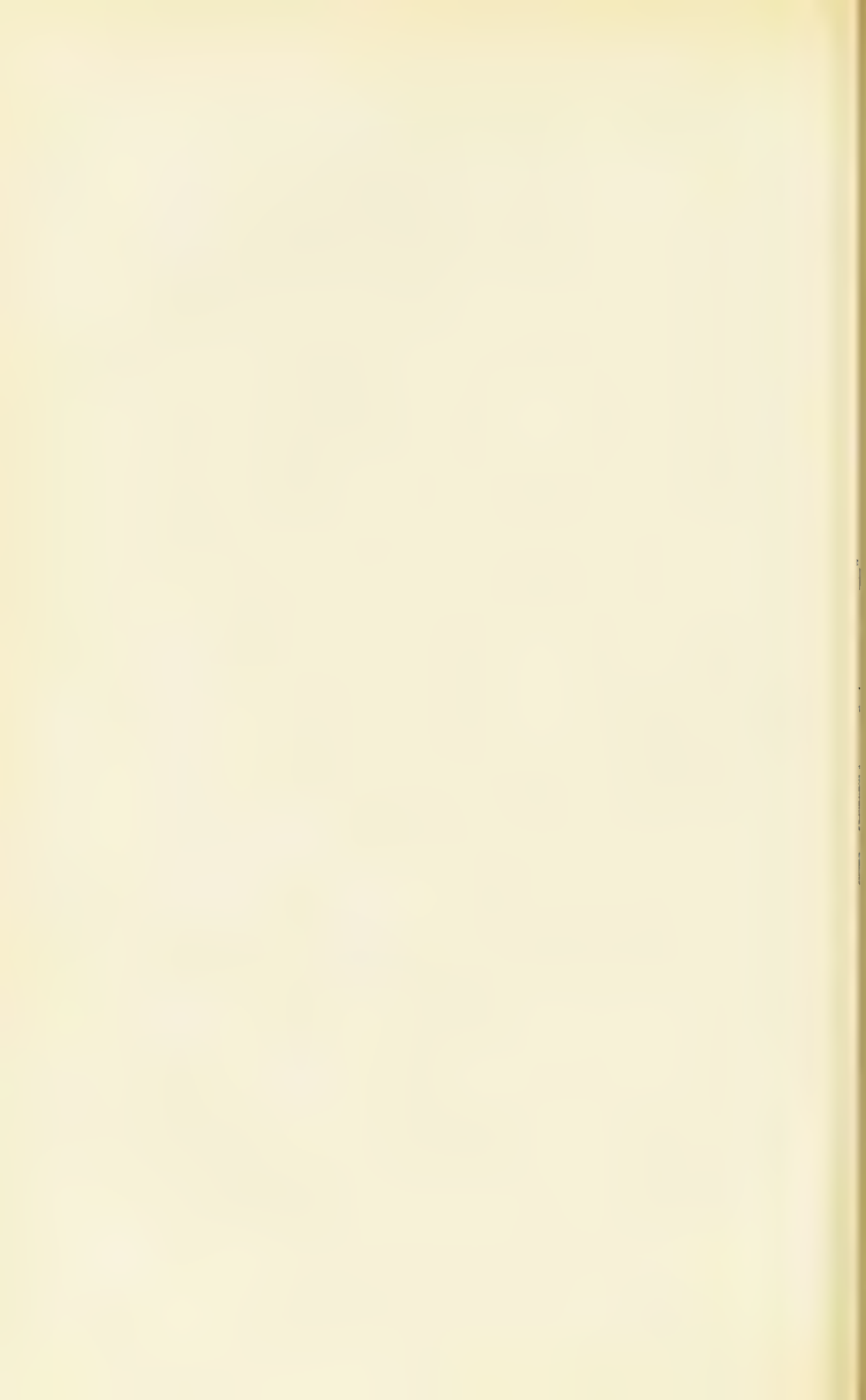
been killed left the ranks, then, in an army which had been small even before, the smallness of their numbers was still more evident, and the difference between them and the Gothic host was manifestly great. Finally the horsemen of the barbarians who were on the right wing, taking note of this, advanced at a gallop against the enemy opposite them. And the Romans there, unable to withstand their spears, rushed off in flight and came to the infantry phalanx. However, the infantry also were unable to hold their ground against the oncoming horsemen, and most of them began to join the cavalry in flight. And immediately the rest of the Roman army also began to retire, the enemy pressing upon their heels, and the rout became decisive. But Principius and Tarmutus with some few of the infantry of their command made a display of valorous deeds against the Goths. For as they continued to fight and disdained to turn to flight with the others, most of the Goths were so amazed that they halted. And consequently the rest of the infantry and most of the horsemen made their escape in greater security. Now Principius fell where he stood, his whole body hacked to pieces, and around him fell forty-two foot-soldiers. But Tarmutus, holding two Isaurian javelins, one in each hand, continued to thrust them into his assailants as he turned from side to side, until, finally, he desisted because his body was covered with wounds; but when his brother Ennes came to the rescue with a detachment of cavalry, he revived, and running swiftly, covered as he was with gore and wounds, he made for the fortifications without throwing down either of his javelins. And being fleet of foot by

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- καίπερ οὕτω τοῦ σώματος ἔχων, παρ' αὐτάς τε  
 τὰς Πιγκιανὰς πύλας ἐλθὼν ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτὸν  
 τετελευτηκέναι δόξαντα ὑπὲρ ἀσπίδος ἄραντες  
 44 τῶν τινες ἐταίρων ἐκόμισαν. ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας δύο  
 ἐπιβιούς ἐτελεύτησε, λόγον αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἔν τε  
 Ἰσαύροις καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών.
- 45 Πεφοβημένοι τε ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι φρουρὰς τῆς ἐν  
 τῷ τείχει ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐπιθέντες  
 ξύν θορύβῳ πολλῷ τῇ πόλει τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐκ  
 ἐδέχοντο, δεδιότες μὴ ξυνεισβάλλωσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ  
 46 πολέμιοι. καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι οὐκ ἔφθασαν τοῦ  
 περιβόλου ἐντὸς γεγενημένοι, τὴν τάφρον διαβάν-  
 τες καὶ τῷ τείχει τὰ νῶτα ἐρείσαντες, ἔτρεμν  
 τε καὶ πάσης ἀλκῆς ἐπιλελησμένοι εἰστήκεισαν,  
 ἀμύνεσθαί τε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥκιστα ἴσχυον.  
 καίπερ ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον ὑπερβῆναι  
 47 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν  
 πολλοῖς τὰ δόρατα ἔν τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ καὶ τῇ  
 φυγῇ κατεαγόντα ἐτύγχανε, τὰ δὲ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν  
 στενοχωρία τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν.
- 48 ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καθεω-  
 ρῶντο, οἱ Γότθοι ἐνέκειντο, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες τοὺς  
 τε ἀποκεκλεισμένους ἅπαντας διαφθεῖραι καὶ  
 49 τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ βιάσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ στρα-  
 τιωτῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἀμυνομένων  
 πολὺ τι χρήμα ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις εἶδον, αὐτίκα δὴ  
 ἀπογόντες ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνον, πολλὰ  
 50 τοὺς ἐναντίους κακίσαντες. ἢ τε μυχῇ ἐν τοῖς  
 τῶν βαρβάρων χαρακώμασιν ἀρξαμένη ἔν τε τῇ  
 τάφρῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐτελεύτησε τείχει.

nature, he succeeded in making his escape, in spite of the plight of his body, and did not fall until he had just reached the Pincian Gate. And some of his comrades, supposing him to be dead, lifted him on a shield and carried him. But he lived on two days before he died, leaving a high reputation both among the Isaurians and in the rest of the army.

The Romans, meanwhile, being by now thoroughly frightened, attended to the guarding of the wall, and shutting the gates they refused, in their great excitement, to receive the fugitives into the city, fearing that the enemy would rush in with them. And such of the fugitives as had not already got inside the fortifications, crossed the moat, and standing with their backs braced against the wall were trembling with fear, and stood there forgetful of all valour and utterly unable to ward off the barbarians, although they were pressing upon them and were about to cross the moat to attack them. And the reason was that most of them had lost their spears, which had been broken in the engagement and during the flight, and they were not able to use their bows because they were huddled so closely together. Now so long as not many defenders were seen at the battlement, the Goths kept pressing on, having hopes of destroying all those who had been shut out and of overpowering the men who held the circuit wall. But when they saw a very great number both of soldiers and of the Roman populace at the battlements defending the wall, they immediately abandoned their purpose and rode off thence to the rear, heaping much abuse upon their opponents. And the battle, having begun at the camps of the barbarians, ended at the moat and the wall of the city.



HISTORY OF THE WARS:  
BOOK VI

THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)



## ΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΚΤΟΣ

### I

Μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διακιν-  
δυνεύειν οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων ἵππομαχίας δὲ ποιού-  
μενοι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ τὰ πολλὰ  
2 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκων. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ  
ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐκ ἐς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι,  
3 ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἵππεύσιν ἐπόμενοι. καὶ ποτε Βέσσας  
ἐν πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ξὺν τῷ δόρατι  
ἐσπηδήσας τρεῖς τε τῶν ἀρίστων ἵππέων ἔκτεινε  
4 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψεν. αὐθις δὲ  
Κωνσταντῖνος<sup>1</sup> τοὺς Οὐννους ἐπαγόμενος ἐν  
Νέρωνος πεδίῳ ἀμφὶ δείλῃν ὀψίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ  
πλήθει ὑπερβιαζομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶδεν,  
5 ἐποίει τοιάδε. στάδιον μέγα ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ  
ἐστίν, οὗ δὴ οἱ τῆς πόλεως μονομάχοι τὰ πρότερα  
ἠγωνίζοντο, πολλά τε ἄλλα<sup>2</sup> οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι  
ἀμφὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦτο ἐδείμαντο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
στενωπούς, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, πανταχόθι τοῦ χωρίου  
6 ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. τότε οὖν Κωνσταντῖνος,<sup>3</sup> ἐπεὶ  
οὔτε περιέσεσθαι τοῦ τῶν Γότθων ὀμίλου εἶχεν  
οὔτε κινδύνου μεγάλου ἐκτὸς φεύγειν οἷός τε ἦν,

<sup>1</sup> Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανός MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλα K: om. L.

<sup>3</sup> Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανός MSS.

# HISTORY OF THE WARS : BOOK VI

## THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)

### I

AFTER this the Romans no longer dared risk a battle with their whole army ; but they engaged in cavalry battles, making sudden sallies in the same manner as before, and were generally victorious over the barbarians. Foot-soldiers also went out from both sides, not, however, arrayed in a phalanx, but accompanying the horsemen. And once Bessas in the first rush dashed in among the enemy carrying his spear and killed three of their best horsemen and turned the rest to flight. And another time, when Constantinus had led out the Huns in the Plain of Nero in the late afternoon, and saw that they were being overpowered by the superior numbers of their opponents, he took the following measures. There has been in that place from of old a great stadium<sup>1</sup> where the gladiators of the city used to fight in former times, and the men of old built many other buildings round about this stadium ; consequently there are, as one would expect, narrow passages all about this place. Now on the occasion in question, since Constantinus could neither overcome the throng of the Goths nor flee without great danger, he caused

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Stadium of Caligula.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἅπαντας τοὺς Οὐννοὺς ἀποβι-  
βάσας πεζὸς ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἕς τινα τῶν ἐκείνῃ  
7 στενωπῶν ἔσθῃ. ὅθεν δὴ βάλλοντες ἐκ τοῦ  
ἀσφαλοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους συχνοὺς ἔκτεινον. καὶ  
χρόνον μὲν τινα οἱ Γότθοι βαλλόμενοι ἀντεῖχον.  
8 ἤλπιζον γάρ, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τῶν Οὐννων τὰς  
φαρέτρας ἐπιλείπη τὰ βέλη, κύκλωσίν τε αὐτῶν  
οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐήσαντες ἐς στρατό-  
9 πεδον αὐτοὺς τὸ σφέτερον ἄξιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ  
Μασσαγέται, τοξόται μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες, ἐς πολὺν  
δὲ ὄμιλον βάλλοντες, τοξεύματι σχεδὸν τι ἐκά-  
στω πολεμίῳ ἀνδρὸς ἐπετύγχανον, ἥσθοντο μὲν  
ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν ἀπολωλότες, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐς δυσμὰς  
ἰόντος ἡλίου οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται ἐς φυγὴν  
10 ὥρμηντο. ἔνθα δὴ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἔπεσον· ἐπι-  
σπόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπεὶ τοξεύειν ὡς  
ἄριστα καὶ πολλῶ χρώμενοι δρόμῳ ἐπίστανται,  
οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἐς νῶτα<sup>1</sup> βάλλοντες ἔκτεινον.  
οὕτω τε ἰς Ῥώμην Κωνσταντῖνος<sup>2</sup> ξὺν τοῖς  
Οὐννοῖς ἐς νύκτα ἦκε.
- 11 Περαιῖον δὲ ἡμέραις οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον Ῥω-  
μαίων τισὶ διὰ πύλης Σαλαρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-  
μίους ἡγησαμένου ἔφευγον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ  
Γότθοι, παλινδιώξεως<sup>3</sup> δὲ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἐκ  
τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγεννημένης, τῶν τις Ῥωμαίων  
πεζὸς ἐς μέγαν καταστάς θόρυβον ἐς βαθεῖάν  
τινα κατώρυχα ἐμπίπτει, οἷαι πολλαὶ τοῖς πάλαι  
ἀνθρώποις πρὸς σίτου παρακαταθήκην ἐνταῦθα,  
12 οἶμαι, πεποίηνται. οὕτε δὲ κραυγῇ χρῆσθαι

<sup>1</sup> νῶτα K : αὐτοὺς L.

<sup>2</sup> Κωνστ. : κωνσταντιανὸς MSS.

<sup>3</sup> παλιδιώξεως K, πάλιν. διώξεως L.

all the Huns to dismount from their horses, and on foot, in company with them, took his stand in one of the narrow passages there. Then by shooting from that safe position they slew large numbers of the enemy. And for some time the Goths withstood their missiles. For they hoped, as soon as the supply of missiles in the quivers of the Huns should be exhausted, to be able to surround them without any trouble, take them prisoners, and lead them back to their camp. But since the Massagetæ, who were not only good bowmen but also had a dense throng to shoot into, hit an enemy with practically every shot, the Goths perceived that above half their number had perished, and since the sun was about to set, they knew not what to do and so rushed off in flight. Then indeed many of them fell; for the Massagetæ followed them up, and since they know how to shoot the bow with the greatest accuracy even when running at great speed, they continued to discharge their arrows no less than before, shooting at their backs, and kept up the slaughter. And thus Constantinus with his Huns came back to Rome at night.

And when Peranius, not many days later, led some of the Romans through the Salarian Gate against the enemy, the Goths, indeed, fled as hard as they could, but about sunset a counter-pursuit was made suddenly, and a Roman foot soldier, becoming greatly confused, fell into a deep hole, many of which were made there by the men of old, for the storage of grain, I suppose. And he did not dare to cry out.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τολμήσας, ἅτε πού ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευομένων τῶν  
πολεμίων, οὔτε τοῦ βόθρου τρόπῳ ὕψους ἀπαλ-  
λάσσεσθαι οἷός τε ὦν, ἐπεὶ ἀνάβασιν οὐδαμῇ  
13 εἶχεν, αὐτοῦ διανυκτερεύειν ἠνάγκαστο. τῇ δὲ  
ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τροπῆς αὐθις τῶν βαρβάρων  
γεγενημένης, τῶν τις Γότθων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν κατώ-  
14 ρυχα ἐμπίπτει. ἔνθα δὴ ἄμφω ἔς τε φιλο-  
φροσύνην καὶ εὖνοιαν ξυνηλθέτην ἀλλήλοιν,  
ξυναγωγῆς αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀνάγκης, τά τε πιστὰ  
ἔδοσαν, ἥ μὴν κατεσπουδασμένην ἑκατέρῳ τὴν  
θατέρου σωτηρίαν εἶναι, καὶ τότε δὴ μέγα καὶ  
15 ἐξαίσιον ἄμφω ἐβόων. Γότθοι μὲν οὖν τῇ τε  
φωνῇ ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατώρυχος δια-  
κύψαντες ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ βοῶν εἴη.  
16 οὕτω δὲ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν δεδογμένον, σιωπὴν μὲν ὁ  
Ῥωμαῖος εἶχεν, ἄτερος δὲ τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ  
ἔναγχος ἔφασκεν ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ τροπῇ ἐμπεπτω-  
κέναι, βρόχον τε αὐτούς,<sup>1</sup> ὅπως ἀναβαίνοι, ἡξίου  
17 καθεῖναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥς τάχιστα τῶν κάλων  
τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπορρίψαντες τοῦ Γότθου ποιεῖσθαι  
τὴν ἀνολκὴν ᾤοντο, λαβόμενος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τῶν  
βρόχων<sup>2</sup> εἴλκετο ἄνω, τοιοῦτον εἰπὼν, ὥς, ἢν μὲν  
αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνοι πρῶτος, οὐποτε τοῦ ἐταῖρου  
ἀμελήσειν τοὺς Γότθους, ἢν δὲ γε τὸν πολέμιον  
πύθωνται μόνον ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, οὐδένα ἂν αὐτοῦ  
18 ποιοῖντο λόγον. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνέβη. καὶ αὐτὸν  
ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι εἶδον, ἐθαύμαζον τε καὶ ἀμηχανία  
πολλῇ εἶχοντο, πάντα τε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον  
ἀκούσαντες ἐν δευτέρῳ τὸν ἐταῖρον<sup>3</sup> ἀνεῖλκον,  
ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς τά τε ξυγκείμενα σφίσι καὶ τὰ δεδο-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτούς K : αὐτῶ L.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν βρόχων L : τὸν βρόχον K.

<sup>3</sup> ἐταῖρον K : ἕτερον L.

supposing that the enemy were encamped near by, and was not able in any way whatever to get out of the pit, for it afforded no means of climbing up; he was therefore compelled to pass the night there. Now on the next day, when the barbarians had again been put to flight, one of the Goths fell into the same hole. And there the two men were reconciled to mutual friendship and good-will, brought together as they were by their necessity, and they exchanged solemn pledges, each that he would work earnestly for the salvation of the other; and then both of them began shouting with loud and frantic cries. Now the Goths, following the sound, came and peered over the edge of the hole, and enquired who it was who shouted. At this, the Roman, in accordance with the plan decided upon by the two men, kept silence, and the Goth in his native tongue said that he had just recently fallen in there during the rout which had taken place, and asked them to let down a rope that he might come up. And they as quickly as possible threw down the ends of ropes, and, as they thought, were pulling up the Goth, but the Roman laid hold of the ropes and was pulled up, saying only that if he should go up first the Goths would never abandon their comrade, but if they should learn that merely one of the enemy was there they would take no account of him. So saying, he went up. And when the Goths saw him, they wondered and were in great perplexity, but upon hearing the whole story from him they drew up his comrade next, and he told them of the agreement



- 19 μένα<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων πιστὰ ἔφρασε. καὶ αὐτὸς  
 μὲν ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, τὸν δὲ Ῥω-  
 μαῖον κακῶν ἀπαθῆ ἑς τὴν πόλιν ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι.
- 20 ἔπειτα δὲ ἵππεῖς μὲν πολλάκις ἐκατέρωθεν οὐ  
 πολλοὶ ὥς ἑς μάχην ὠπλίζοντο, ἑς μονομαχίαν  
 δὲ αἰὲ τὰ τῆς ἀγωνίας αὐτοῖς ἐτελεύτα καὶ πάσαις  
 Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν.
- 21 Ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ ξυμβολῆς ἐν Νέρωνος  
 γινομένης πεδίῳ, διώξεις τε ἄλλων ἄλλη κατ'  
 ὀλίγους<sup>2</sup> ἵππεῖς ποιουμένῳ, Χορσάμαντις, ἐν  
 τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις εὐδόκιμος, Μασσα-  
 γέτης γένος, ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἄνδρας ἐβδομή-
- 22 κοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἐδίωκεν. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ  
 πεδίου πόρρῳ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι  
 ὀπίσω ἀπήλαινον, Χορσάμαντις δὲ μόνος ἔτι  
 ἐδίωκεν. ὅπερ<sup>3</sup> κατιδόντες οἱ Γότθοι στρέψαντες
- 23 τοὺς ἵππους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤεσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑς  
 μέσους χωρήσας, ἕνα τε τῶν ἀρίστων δόρατι<sup>4</sup>  
 κτείνας, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤει, οἱ δὲ αὐθις τραπό-
- 24 μενοι ἑς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τοῖς  
 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν  
 καθορᾶσθαι ὑπώπτευν) πάλιν ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν
- 25 ἤθελον. ταῦτὸ δὲ παθόντες, ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον,  
 ἕνα τε τῶν ἀρίστων ἀποβαλόντες, ἑς φυγὴν οὐδὲν  
 ἤσσον ἐτράποντο, μέχρι τε τοῦ χαρακώματος  
 τὴν δίωξιν ὁ Χορσάμαντις ποιησάμενος ἀνέ-
- 26 στρεψε μόνος. ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον ἐν μάχῃ ἑτέρα  
 κνήμην τὴν ἀριστερὰν βληθέντι<sup>5</sup> τούτῳ<sup>6</sup> ἐνο-

<sup>1</sup> δεδομένα Haury : δεδεγμένα K, δεδομένα L.

<sup>2</sup> κατ' ὀλίγους Classen : καταλόγους MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ὅπερ K : ὅνπερ L. <sup>4</sup> δόρατι K : om. L.

<sup>5</sup> βληθέντι L : βάλλεται K.

<sup>6</sup> τούτῳ Haury : τοῦτο K, om. L.

they had made and of the pledges both had given. So he went off with his companions, and the Roman was released unharmed and permitted to return to the city. After this horsemen in no great numbers armed themselves many times for battle, but the struggles always ended in single combats, and the Romans were victorious in all of them. Such, then, was the course of these events.

A little after this an engagement took place in the Plain of Nero, wherein various small groups of horsemen were engaged in pursuing their opponents in various directions; in one group was Chorsamantis, a man of note among the guards of Belisarius, by birth a Massagete, who with some others was pursuing seventy of the enemy. And when he had got well out in the plain the other Romans rode back, but Chorsamantis went on with the pursuit alone. As soon as the Goths perceived this, they turned their horses about and came against him. And he advanced into their midst, killed one of the best of them with his spear, and then went after the others, but they again turned and rushed off in flight. But they were ashamed before their comrades in the camp, who, they suspected, could already see them, and wished to attack him again. They had, however, precisely the same experience as before and lost one of their best men, and so turned to flight in spite of their shame, and after Chorsamantis had pursued them as far as their stockade he returned alone. And a little later, in another battle, this man was wounded in the left shin, and it was his

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- μίσθῃ εἶναι ἄκρου ὀστέου τὸ βέλος ἀψάμενον.  
 27 ἀπόμαχος μέντοι ἡμέρας ὅσας δὴ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ  
 γεγονώς τῇ πληγῇ ἅτε ἀνὴρ βάρβαρος οὐκ ἤνεγκε  
 πρῶως, ἀλλ' ἠπείλησε τῆς ἐς τὸ σκέλος ὕβρεως  
 28 τοὺς Γότθους ὅτι τάχιστα τίσασθαι. ραίσας οὖν  
 οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἔν τε ἀρίστῳ οἰνωμένος, ὥσπερ  
 εἰώθει, μόνος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐβούλευσεν  
 ἰέναι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν πόδα ὕβρεως τίσασθαι, ἔν  
 τε Πιγκιανῇ γενόμενος πυλίδι, στέλλεσθαι πρὸς  
 Βελισαρίου ἔφασκεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρα-  
 29 τόπεδον. οἱ δὲ ταύτῃ φρουροὶ (οὐ<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν  
 ἀνδρὶ τῶν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρων ἀρίστῳ εἶχον  
 τὰς τε πύλας ἀνέωξαν καὶ ὅπη βούλοιτο ἀφήκαι  
 30 ἰέναι. κατιδόντες τε αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰ μὲν  
 πρῶτα αὐτόμολον σφίσι τινὰ προσχωρεῖν ᾤοντο,  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος τοῦ τόξου εἶχετο, οὐκ εἰ-  
 δότες ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη, χωροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσιν.  
 31 οὓς δὴ εὐπετῶς ἀπώσάμενος ἀπήλανε βάδην,  
 πλειόνων τε Γότθων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰόντων οὐκ ἔφυγεν.  
 32 ὥς δὲ πλήθους πολλοῦ ἐπιρρέοντος ἀμύνεσθαι  
 ἡξίου, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῶν πύργων θεώμενοι μαίνεσθαι  
 μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπώπτουν, ὥς δὲ Χορσάμαντις  
 33 εἶη οὐπω ἠπίσταντο. ἔργα μὲν ἐπιδειξάμενος  
 μεγάλα τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἔς τε κύκλω-  
 σιν ἐμπεπτωκώς τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατεύ-  
 34 ματος, ποινὰς ἀλόγου θράσους ἐξέτισεν. ἅπερ  
 ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριός τε καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς  
 ἔμαθον, ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι, ἅτε τῆς  
 πάντων ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διαφθαρείσης,  
 ᾠδύροντο.

<sup>1</sup> οὐ K : οὐδὲ L.

opinion that the weapon had merely grazed the bone. However, he was rendered unfit for fighting for a certain number of days by reason of this wound, and since he was a barbarian he did not endure this patiently, but threatened that he would right speedily have vengeance upon the Goths for this insult to his leg. So when not long afterwards he had recovered and was drunk at lunch time, as was his custom, he purposed to go alone against the enemy and avenge the insult to his leg; and when he had come to the small Pincian Gate he stated that he was sent by Belisarius to the enemy's camp. And the guards at the gate, who could not doubt the word of a man who was the best of the guards of Belisarius, opened the gates and allowed him to go wherever he would. And when the enemy spied him, they thought at first that some deserter was coming over to them, but when he came near and put his hand to his bow, twenty men, not knowing who he might be, went out against him. These he easily drove off, and then began to ride back at a walk, and when more Goths came against him he did not flee. But when a great throng gathered about him and he still insisted upon fighting them, the Romans, watching the sight from the towers, suspected that the man was crazy, but they did not yet know that it was Chorsamantis. At length, after making a display of great and very noteworthy deeds, he found himself surrounded by the army of the enemy, and paid the penalty for his unreasonable daring. And when Belisarius and the Roman army learned this, they mourned greatly, lamenting that the hope which all placed in the man had come to naught.

II

Εὐθάλιος δέ τις ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐς Τα-  
κίαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκε, χρήματα ἔχων ἅπερ  
2 τοῖς στρατιώταις βασιλεὺς ὥφλε. δείσας τε μὴ  
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυχόντες πολέμιοι τὰ χρήματά  
τε ἀφέλονται καὶ αὐτὸν κτείνωσι, γράφει πρὸς  
Βελισάριον ἀσφαλῆ οἱ ἐς Ῥώμην τὴν πορείαν  
3 ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν ἑκατὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ  
ὑπασπιστῶν δοκίμους ἀπολεξάμενος ξὺν δορυ-  
φόροις δύο πέμπει ἐς Ταρκίαν οἵπερ αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup>  
4 τὰ χρήματα ξυγκομίσαιεν.<sup>2</sup> δόκησιν δὲ αἰεὶ τοῖς  
βαρβάροις παρείχετο ὡς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ μαχε-  
σόμενος, ὅπως μὴ ἐνθὲνδε τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς  
ἢ τροφῶν ξυγκομιδῆς ἔνεκα ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν  
5 ἴωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Εὐθάλιον  
ἔγνω παρέσεσθαι, διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμη ὡς ἐς  
μάχην τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν παρα-  
6 σκευῇ ἦσαν. ὅλην μὲν οὖν δείλην πρωίαν  
κατεῖχεν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἦδει<sup>3</sup>  
γὰρ Εὐθάλιόν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς νύκτα  
7 ἀφίξεσθαι. ἐς δὲ ἡμέραν μέσσην ἄριστον ἐκέλευε  
τὸ στράτευμα αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ταῦτό  
τοῦτο ἐποίουν, ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὐτὸν οἰόμενοι  
8 τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι. ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον  
Μαρτίνον μὲν καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις  
ἐς Νέρωνος πεδῖον Βελισάριος ἐπεμψε, ξυνταράσ-  
σειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπιστείλας τὸ τῶν πολεμίων

<sup>1</sup> οἵπερ αὐτῷ K: ὑπὲρ τοῦ L.

<sup>2</sup> ξυγκομίσαιεν Haury: ξυγκομίσειε K, ξυγκομίσαι L.

<sup>3</sup> ἦδει: ἦδη MSS.

## II

Now a certain Euthalius, at about the spring equinox, came to Taracina from Byzantium with the money which the emperor owed the soldiers. And fearing lest the enemy should come upon him on the road and both rob him of the money and kill him, he wrote to Belisarius requesting him to make the journey to Rome safe for him. Belisarius accordingly selected one hundred men of note from among his own bodyguards and sent them with two spearmen to Taracina to assist him in bringing the money. And at the same time he kept trying to make the barbarians believe that he was about to fight with his whole army, his purpose being to prevent any of the enemy from leaving the vicinity, either to bring in provisions or for any other purpose. But when he found out that Euthalius and his men would arrive on the morrow, he arrayed his army and set it in order for battle, and the barbarians were in readiness. Now throughout the whole forenoon he merely held his soldiers near the gates; for he knew that Euthalius and those who accompanied him would arrive at night. Then, at midday, he commanded the army to take their lunch, and the Goths did the same thing, supposing that he was putting off the engagement to the following day. A little later, however, Belisarius sent Martinus and Valerian to the Plain of Nero with the troops under their command, directing them to throw the enemy's camp into the



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 9 στρατόπεδον. ἐκ δὲ πυλίδος Πιγκιανῆς ἰππέας  
 ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ χαρακώματα  
 10 ἔστελλεν· οἷς δὴ τρεῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων  
 ἐπέστησεν, Ἀρτασίρην τε ἄνδρα Πέρσην καὶ  
 Βώχαν Μασσαγέτην γένος καὶ Κουτίλαν Θράκα.  
 καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπήντησαν.  
 11 χρόνον δὲ πολὺν ἡ μάχη ἐν<sup>1</sup> χερσὶν οὐκ ἐγίνετο,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπιούσῃ τε ὑπεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰς  
 διώξεις ἑκάτεροι ἀγχιστρόφους ποιούμενοι ἐφύ-  
 κεισαν βουλομένοις<sup>2</sup> ἐς τοῦτο σφίσι δαπανᾶσθαι  
 12 τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον. προϊόντες μέντοι ὀργῇ  
 ἐς ἀλλήλους εἶχοντο ἤδη· καρτερᾶς τε γεγενη-  
 μένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς, ἐκατέρων μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ  
 ἄριστοι ἔπεσον, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πόλεως  
 13 καὶ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐπίκουροι ἦλθον. ὧν δὴ  
 ἀναμιγνυμένων τοῖς μαχομένοις ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ  
 πόνος ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρετο. καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ τὴν τε  
 πόλιν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα περιλαβοῦσα τοὺς  
 14 μαχομένους ἐξέπλησσε.<sup>3</sup> τέλος δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 ἀρετῇ ὥσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο.  
 Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Κουτίλας μέσσην τὴν κεφα-  
 λὴν ἀκοντίῳ πληγείς καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ δοράτιον  
 15 ἐμπεπηγὸς ἔχων ἐδίωκε. τῆς τε τροπῆς γενο-  
 μένης ἅμα τοῖς περιοῦσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀμφὶ  
 ἡλίου δύσιν ἐσήλασε, κραδαινομένου οἱ ἐν τῇ  
 κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀκοντίου, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον.  
 16 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀρξην, τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασ-  
 πιστῶν ἓνα, τῶν τις Γύτθων τοξότης μεταξὺ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Herwerden: om. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> βουλομένοις: βουλόμενοι K, βουλευομένοις L.

<sup>3</sup> ἐξέπλησσε Dindorf: ἐξέπλησε K, ἐπλησε L.

greatest possible confusion. And from the small Pincian Gate he sent out six hundred horsemen against the camps of the barbarians, placing them under command of three of his own spearmen, Artasires, a Persian, and Bochas, of the race of the Massagetae, and Cutilas, a Thracian. And many of the enemy came out to meet them. For a long time, however, the battle did not come to close quarters, but each side kept retreating when the other advanced and making pursuits in which they quickly turned back, until it looked as if they intended to spend the rest of the day at this sort of thing. But as they continued, they began at last to be filled with rage against each other. The battle then settled down to a fierce struggle in which many of the best men on both sides fell, and support came up for each of the two armies, both from the city and from the camps. And when these fresh troops were mingled with the fighters the struggle became still greater. And the shouting which filled the city and the camps terrified the combatants. But finally the Romans by their valour forced back the enemy and routed them.

In this action Cutilas was struck in the middle of the head by a javelin, and he kept on pursuing with the javelin still embedded in his head. And after the rout had taken place, he rode into the city at about sunset together with the other survivors, the javelin in his head waving about, a most extraordinary sight. During the same encounter Arzes, one of the guards of Belisarius, was hit by one of the Gothic

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- τε ῥινὸς καὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βάλλει.  
 17 καὶ τοῦ μὲν τοξεύματος ἡ ἀκὴς ἄχρι ἐς τὸν αὐχένα  
 ὀπίσω διήλθεν, οὐ μέντοι διεφάνη, τοῦ δὲ ἀτρά-  
 κτου τὸ λειπόμενον ἐπὴν τε τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ  
 18 ἵππευομένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσείετο. ὃν δὴ ξὺν  
 τῷ Κουτίλᾳ θεώμενοι ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποι-  
 οῦντο Ῥωμαῖοι ὅτι δὴ ἵππεύοντο, οὐδεμίαν ἐπι-  
 στροφὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἔχοντες. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
 ἐφέρετο τῇδε.  
 19 Ἐν δὲ Νέρωνος πεδίῳ τὰ βαρβάρων πράγματα  
 καθυπέρτερα ἦν. οἳ τε ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανὸν καὶ  
 Μαρτίνον, πλήθει πολλῷ πολεμίων μαχόμενοι,  
 καρτερῶς μὲν ὑφίσταντο,<sup>1</sup> ἔπασχον δὲ τὰ δεινό-  
 τατα, καὶ κινδύνου ἐς μέγα τι ἀφίκοντο χρήμα.  
 20 καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος Βώχαν ἐκέλευεν ἐπαγό-  
 μενον τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀκραιφνέσι σώμασί τε καὶ  
 ἵπποις ἐκ τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἐπανήκοντας ἐς Νέρωνος  
 21 πεδίον ἰέναι. ἤδη δὲ ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψέ. καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἀμφὶ Βώχαν ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων ἐκ  
 τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τροπὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐγίνετο, ἐς  
 ἣν ἐπὶ πλείστον Βώχας ἐμπεσὼν ἐς κύκλωσιν  
 δυοκαίδεκα πολεμίων δόρατα φερόντων ἀφίκετο.  
 22 καὶ αὐτὸν ἔπαισαν μὲν ὁμοῦ τοῖς δόρασιν ἅπαντες.  
 τοῦ δὲ θώρακος ὑφισταμένου αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πλη-  
 γαὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐλύπουν, εἰς δὲ τῶν Γότθων  
 ἐξόπισθεν ὑπὲρ μασχάλην τὴν δεξιὰν γυμνοῦ τοῦ  
 σώματος ἄγχιστα τοῦ ὤμου ἐπιτυχὼν ἔπληξε  
 τὸν νεανίαν, οὐ καιρίαν μέντοι, οὐδὲ ἐς θανάτου  
 23 κίνδυνον ἄγουσαν. ἔμπροσθεν δὲ ἄλλος μηρὸν  
 αὐτοῦ τὸν εὐώνυμον νύξας τὸν ταύτῃ μυῶνα οὐκ  
 24 εὐθείᾳ τινί, ἀλλ' ἐγκαρσίᾳ πληγῇ ἔτεμε. Βαλε-

<sup>1</sup> ὑφίσταντο Herwerden : ἀφίσταντο K, ἐφίσταντο L.

archers between the nose and the right eye. And the point of the arrow penetrated as far as the neck behind, but it did not shew through, and the rest of the shaft projected from his face and shook as the man rode. And when the Romans saw him and Cutilas they marvelled greatly that both men continued to ride, paying no heed to their hurt. Such, then, was the course of events in that quarter.

But in the Plain of Nero the barbarians had the upper hand. For the men of Valerian and Martinus, fighting with a great multitude of the enemy, withstood them stoutly, to be sure, but suffered most terribly, and came into exceedingly great danger. And then Belisarius commanded Bochas to take his troops, which had returned from the engagement unwearied, men as well as horses, and go to the Plain of Nero. Now it was already late in the day. And when the men under Bochas had come to the assistance of the Romans, suddenly the barbarians were turned to flight, and Bochas, who had impetuously followed the pursuit to a great distance, came to be surrounded by twelve of the enemy, who carried spears. And they all struck him at once with their spears. But his corselet withstood the other blows, which therefore did not hurt him much; but one of the Goths succeeded in hitting him from behind, at a place where his body was uncovered, above the right armpit, very close to the shoulder, and smote the youth, though not with a mortal stroke, nor even one which brought him into danger of death. But another Goth struck him in front and pierced his left thigh, and cut the muscles there; it was not a straight blow, however, but only a slanting cut. But Valerian and Martinus saw what

ριανὸς δὲ καὶ Μαρτῖνος τὰ ποιούμενα κατεῖδόν τε καὶ οἱ ἐπιβεβοηθηκότες ὡς τάχιστα ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ Βώχα ἵππου ἄμφω λαβομένω ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο. νύξ τε ἐπεγένετο καὶ ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν Εὐθάλιος ἦλθεν.

- 25 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένοντο, τῶν τραυμάτων ἐπεμελοῦντο. Ἀρζου μὲν οὖν τὸ βέλος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἀφέλκεσθαι<sup>1</sup> βουλόμενοι οἱ ἱατροὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἥσχαλλον, οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἔνεκεν, ὃν δὴ οὐκ ἂν ποτε σωθῆσθαι ὑπετόπαζον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ὑμένων τε καὶ νεύρων τρήσεσιν, οἷα πολλὰ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν, ἄνδρα τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ἄριστον διαφθεῖ-  
26 ρωσιν. ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν τις ἱατρῶν, Θεόκτιστος ὄνομα, ὁπισθεν ἐς τὸν αὐχένα ἐρείσας ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰ λίαν ἀλγοίῃ. τοῦ δὲ ἀλγεῖν φήσαντος, “Οὐκοῦν αὐτός τε σωθήσῃ,” εἶπε, “καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἂν βλαβήσῃ.” ταῦτα δὲ ἰσχυρίσατο τεκμηράμενος ὅτι τοῦ βέλους ἡ ἀκὴς  
27 τοῦ δέρματος οὐ πόρρω διήκει. τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἀτράκτου ὅσον ἔξω ἐφαίνετο ἐκτεμὼν ἔρριψε, διελὼν δὲ τῶν ἰνίων τὸ δέρμα<sup>2</sup> οὗ μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ πολυώδυνος ἦν, ἐντεῦθεν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἀκίδα ἐφείλκυσε, τρισὶ τε προὔχουσιν ὀπίσω ὀξείαις καὶ μοῖραν τοῦ βέλους τὴν λειπομένην ξὺν αὐτῇ  
29 φέρουσιν. οὕτω τε Ἀρζης κακῶν τε παντάπασιν ἀπαθῆς ἔμεινε<sup>3</sup> καὶ οὐδὲ ἵχνος αὐτοῦ τῆς πληγῆς  
30 ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπελείπετο. Κουτίλας δὲ βιαιότερον τοῦ δορατίου ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεθέντος (ἐπεπήγει γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον) ἐς λειποθυμίαν ἐξέ-

<sup>1</sup> ἀφέλκεσθαι K : ἀφελέσθαι L.

<sup>2</sup> δέρμα Haury : σῶμα MSS., σύστημα Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> ἔμεινε K : διέμεινε L.

was happening, and coming to his rescue as quickly as possible, they routed the enemy, and both took hold of the bridle of Bochas' horse, and so came into the city. Then night came on and Euthalius entered the city with the money.

And when all had returned to the city, they attended to the wounded men. Now in the case of Arzes, though the physicians wished to draw the weapon from his face, they were for some time reluctant to do so, not so much on account of the eye, which they supposed could not possibly be saved, but for fear lest, by the cutting of membranes and tissues such as are very numerous in that region, they should cause the death of a man who was one of the best of the household of Belisarius. But afterwards one of the physicians, Theoetistus by name, pressed on the back of his neck and asked whether he felt much pain. And when the man said that he did feel pain, he said, "Then both you yourself will be saved and your sight will not be injured." And he made this declaration because he inferred that the barb of the weapon had penetrated to a point not far from the skin. Accordingly he cut off that part of the shaft which shewed outside and threw it away, and cutting open the skin at the back of the head, at the place where the man felt the most pain, he easily drew toward him the barb, which with its three sharp points now stuck out behind and brought with it the remaining portion of the weapon. Thus Arzes remained entirely free from serious harm, and not even a trace of his wound was left on his face. But as for Cutilas, when the javelin was drawn rather violently from his head (for it was very deeply



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- 31 πεσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φλεγμαίνειν αἱ τῇδε μήνιγγες  
 ἤρξαντο, φρενίτιδι νόσῳ ἀλούς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον  
 32 ἐτελεύτησε. Βώχαν μέντοι αὐτίκα αἵματός τε  
 ῥύσις ἄφατος ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ ἔσχε καὶ τεθηηξο-  
 μένῳ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐφύκει. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου  
 εἶναι ἰατροὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας, ἀλλ'  
 ἐγκαρσία ἐντομῇ τὸν μυῶνα ἢ πληγῇ ἔκοψεν.  
 33 ἡμέραις γοῦν ἀπέθανε τρισὶν ὕστερον. διὰ ταῦτα  
 μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐκείνην ἐν πένθει  
 μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο. Γότθων δὲ θρήνοί τε πολλοὶ  
 καὶ κωκυτοὶ μεγάλοι ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἠκού-  
 34 οντο. καὶ ἐθαύμαζόν γε Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν  
 ἐδόκει πάθος ξυμβῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις λόγου ἄξιον  
 τῇ προτεραίᾳ, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν  
 35 ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς διεφθάρησαν. ὅπερ καὶ πρό-  
 τερον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον,  
 ξυνενεχθὲν οὐ λίαν γε αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν πολυαν-  
 36 θρωπίαν ἐτάραξεν. ἐγνώσθη μέντοι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ  
 ὡς ἄνδρας δοκίμους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐν Νέρωνος  
 πεδίῳ στρατοπέδου Γότθοι ἐθρήνουν, οὓς δὴ ὁ  
 Βώχας ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ ἔκτεινεν.  
 37 Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ἀξιόλογοι ξυμ-  
 βολαί, ὥσπερ μοι ξυγγράφαι οὔτι ἀναγκαῖον  
 ἔδοξεν εἶναι. πάσας μέντοι ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα  
 ἐν τῇδε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, καὶ  
 δύο δὴ ἄλλας ὑστάτας, αἷ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν  
 38 λόγοις εἰρήσονται. τότε δὲ ὁ τε χειμὼν ἔληγε  
 καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε,  
 ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

embedded), he fell into a swoon. And since the membranes about the wound began to be inflamed, he fell a victim to phrenitis<sup>1</sup> and died not long afterwards. Bochas, however, immediately had a very severe hemorrhage in the thigh, and seemed like one who was presently to die. And the reason for the hemorrhage, according to what the physicians said, was that the blow had severed the muscle, not directly from the front, but by a slanting cut. In any event he died three days later. Because of these things, then, the Romans spent that whole night in deep grief; while from the Gothic camps were heard many sounds of wailing and loud lamentation. And the Romans indeed wondered, because they thought that no calamity of any consequence had befallen the enemy on the previous day, except, to be sure, that no small number of them had perished in the encounters. This had happened to them before in no less degree, perhaps even to a greater degree, but it had not greatly distressed them, so great were their numbers. However, it was learned on the following day that men of the greatest note from the camp in the Plain of Nero were being bewailed by the Goths, men whom Bochas had killed in his first charge.

And other encounters also, though of no great importance, took place, which it has seemed to me unnecessary to chronicle. This, however, I will state, that altogether sixty-seven encounters occurred during this siege, besides two final ones which will be described in the following narrative. And at that time the winter drew to its close, and thus ended the second year of this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

<sup>1</sup> Inflammation of the brain.

III

Ἦδη δὲ τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς ἀρξαμένης λιμός  
 τε ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμός τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπέπεσε.  
 καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις σῖτος μὲν<sup>1</sup> ἔτι ἐλείπετο.  
 ἄλλο δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οὐδέν, Ῥωμαίους δὲ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους ὃ τε σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει καὶ ὁ λιμός  
 2 ἀκριβῶς ξὺν τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπίεζεν. ὧν δὴ οἱ Γότθοι  
 αἰσθόμενοι μάχῃ μὲν διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς  
 πολεμίους οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐφύλασσον δὲ ὥπως  
 3 αὐτοῖς μηδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐσκομίζοιτο. ἐστὸν<sup>2</sup>  
 δὲ<sup>3</sup> ὕδατος ὀχετῶ δύο μεταξὺ Λατίνης τε καὶ  
 Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ, ὑψηλῶ ἐς ἄγαν, κυρτώμασί τε ἐπὶ  
 4 πλεῖστον ἀνεχομένῳ. τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ὀχετῶ ἐν  
 χώρῳ διέχοντι Ῥώμης σταδίους πεντήκοντα ξυμ-  
 βάλλετον τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν δι'  
 5 ὀλίγου τρέπεσθον. ὁ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χώραν  
 λαχὼν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ τηνικαῦτα χωρεῖ φερόμενος  
 6 τὰ εὐώνυμα. πάλιν δὲ ξυνιόντε καὶ χώραν τὴν  
 προτέραν ἀπολαμβάντε τὸ λοιπὸν διακέκρισθον,  
 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χώρον τὸν μεταξὺ ὀχύρωμα ξυμ-  
 7 βαίνει τῷ ἐκ τῶν ὀχετῶν περιβαλλεσθαι. τούτων  
 δὲ τὰ κάτω κυρτώματα οἱ βάρβαροι λίθοις τε καὶ  
 πηλῷ φράξαντες φρουρίου σχῆμα πεποίηνται  
 κἀνταῦθα οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους ἐν-  
 στρατοπεδευσάμενοι φυλακὴν εἶχον τοῦ μηκέτι  
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν πόλιν τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων  
 ἐσκομίζεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> σῖτος μὲν K : μὲν σῖτος L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐστὸν K : ἔστι L.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ K : δὲ ἐς τὸδε L.

## III

BUT at the beginning of the spring equinox famine and pestilence together fell upon the inhabitants of the city. There was still, it is true, some grain for the soldiers, though no other kind of provisions, but the grain-supply of the rest of the Romans had been exhausted, and actual famine as well as pestilence was pressing hard upon them. And the Goths, perceiving this, no longer cared to risk a decisive battle with their enemy, but they kept guard that nothing in future should be brought in to them. Now there are two aqueducts between the Latin and the Appian Ways, exceedingly high and carried on arches for a great distance. These two aqueducts meet at a place fifty stades distant from Rome<sup>1</sup> and cross each other, so that for a little space they reverse their relative position. For the one which previously lay to the right from then on continues on the left side. And again coming together, they resume their former places, and thereafter remain apart. Consequently the space between them, enclosed, as it is, by the aqueducts, comes to be a fortress. And the barbarians walled up the lower arches of the aqueducts here with stones and mud and in this way gave it the form of a fort, and encamping there to the number of no fewer than seven thousand men, they kept guard that no provisions should thereafter be brought into the city by the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> *Toute l'Élide*; but it is only about thirty stades from Rome.

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- 8 Τότε δὴ Ῥωμαίους πᾶσα μὲν ἐλπίς ἀγαθοῦ<sup>1</sup>  
ἐπελελοίπει, πᾶσα δὲ ἰδέα κακοῦ περιεστήκει.  
τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ σῖτος ἤκμαζε, τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ  
εὐτολμότατοι ἐναγούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς τῶν χρημά-  
των ἐπιθυμίας τοῖς ἵπποις τε ὀχούμενοι καὶ  
ἄλλους ἐφέλκοντες ἐν τοῖς ληίοις ἐγίγνοντο νύκτωρ  
9 τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν. τέμνοντές τε  
τοὺς ἀστάχυνας καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις οὓς αὐτοὶ ἐφείλ-  
κον ἐνθέμενοι, ἐς τὴν πόλιν λαυθάνοντες τοὺς  
πολεμίους ἐκόμιζον χρημάτων τε μεγάλων Ῥω-  
10 μαίων τοῖς εὐδαίμοσιν ἀπεδίδοντο. οἱ μὲντοι ἄλλοι  
βοτάναις τισὶν ἀπέζων, οἷαι πολλαὶ ἀμφί τε  
τὰ προύστεια καὶ τοῦ περιβύλου ἐντὸς γίνονται.  
βοτάνη γὰρ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων οὔτε χειμῶνος  
ώρα οὔτε ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπιλείπει καιρὸν, ἀλλ'  
ἀνθεῖ τε ἀεὶ καὶ τέθηλεν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον.  
11 ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἵπποφορβεῖν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς πολιορ-  
κουμένους τετύχηκε. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἡμιόνων  
τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θνησκόντων ἀλλᾶντας ποιούμενοι  
12 ἀπεδίδοντο λάθρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σῖτον τὰ λήϊα οὐκέτι  
εἶχε καὶ ἐς μέγα κακὸν<sup>2</sup> ἤπαντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἀφί-  
κοντο, Βελισάριόν τε περίσταντο καὶ μάχῃ μιᾷ  
διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠνάγκαζον,  
Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι  
ὑποσχόμενοι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπορουμένῳ τε τοῖς  
παροῦσι καὶ λίαν ἀχθομένῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου  
ἐλεξάν τινες τοιάδε·  
13 “Οὐ προσδεχομένους ἡμᾶς ἢ παροῦσα, ὧ  
στρατηγέ, κατέλαβε τύχη, ἀλλ' εἰς πᾶν ἡμῖν  
14 τοῦναντίον τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκβέβηκε. τετυχη-  
κότες γὰρ ὧν πρότερον ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ κατέστημεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἀγαθοῦ K : ἀγαθὴ L.

<sup>2</sup> μέγα κακὸν L : ἐσμὸν κακῶν K.

Then indeed every hope of better things abandoned the Romans, and every form of evil encompassed them round about. As long as there was ripe grain, however, the most daring of the soldiers, led on by lust of money, went by night to the grain-fields not far from the city mounted on horses and leading other horses after them. Then they cut off the heads of grain, and putting them on the horses which they led, would carry them into the city without being seen by the enemy and sell them at a great price to such of the Romans as were wealthy. But the other inhabitants lived on various herbs such as grow in abundance not only in the outskirts but also inside the fortifications. For the land of the Romans is never lacking in herbs either in winter or at any other season, but they always flourish and grow luxuriantly at all times. Wherefore the besieged also pastured their horses in those places. And some too made sausages of the mules that died in Rome and secretly sold them. But when the corn-lands had no more grain and all the Romans had come into an exceedingly evil plight, they surrounded Belisarius and tried to compel him to stake everything on a single battle with the enemy, promising that not one of the Romans would be absent from the engagement. And when he was at a loss what to do in that situation and greatly distressed, some of the populace spoke to him as follows:

“General, we were not prepared for the fortune which has overtaken us at the present time; on the contrary, what has happened has been altogether the opposite of our expectations. For after achieving what



- τανῶν ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν ξυμφορὰν ἤκομεν, καὶ  
 περιέστηκεν ἡμῶν ἡ προλαβοῦσα ἑώρα τὸ καλῶς  
 τῆς βασιλέως προμηθείας ἐφίεσθαι, νῦν ἄνοιά τε  
 15 οὔσα καὶ κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπόθεσις. ἀφ'  
 οὗ δὴ ἐς τούδε ἀνάγκης ἀφίγμεθα ὥστε ἐν τῷ  
 παρόντι ἔτι βιάζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους  
 16 ὀπλίζεσθαι τετολμήκαμεν. καὶ συγγνώμη μὲν εἰ  
 πρὸς Βελισάριον θρασυνόμεθα, γαστήρ γὰρ οὐκ  
 οἶδεν ἀπορούσα τῶν ἀναγκαίων αἰσχύνεσθαι.  
 17 ἀπολελογήσθω δὲ ἡμῖν<sup>1</sup> τῆς<sup>2</sup> προπετείας ἡ τύχη.  
 πάντων γὰρ εἰκότως ἀνιαιρότατος εἶναι ἔοκε  
 18 μὲν οὖν ξυμπεσόντα ἡμῖν ὁρᾶς δῆπουθεν. ἀγροὶ  
 μὲν οὗτοι καὶ χώρα ξύμπασα ἱποπέπτωκε ταῖς  
 τῶν πολεμίων χερσίν· ἡ πόλις δὲ αὕτη τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν ἀποκέκλεισται πάντων οὐκ ἴσμεν ἔξ  
 19 οὔτου δὴ χρόνου. Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἤδη κείν-  
 ται, τὸ μὴδὲ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι κληρωσάμενοι.  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ περιούτες, ὥς ἂν συλλήβδην εἰπω-  
 μεν ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ, ξυντετάχθαι τοῖς οἰτω  
 20 κειμένοις εὐχόμεθα. πάντα γὰρ τοῖς ἐντυχά-  
 ρουσιν ὁ λιμὸς τὰ κακὰ φορητὰ<sup>3</sup> δείκνυσιν, ἐνθα  
 τε ἂν φαίνηται, μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέρχεται  
 λήθης καὶ θανάτους ἅπαντας, πλὴν τοῦ παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ προσιόντος<sup>4</sup> πρὸς ἡδονῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώ-  
 21 ποις ἐργάζεται. ἕως τοίνυν ἔτι μὴ κεκράτηκεν  
 ἡμῶν τὸ κακόν, δὸς ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνελέ-  
 σθαι τὴν ἀγωνίαν, ἔξ ἧς ἡμῖν ἢ περιεῖναι τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἢ τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι ξυμβῇ

<sup>1</sup> ἡμῖν Krašeninnikov : ἡμῶν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς K : ὑπὲρ τῆσδε ἡμῶν τῆς L.

<sup>3</sup> φορητὰ K : φορητέα L.

<sup>4</sup> προσιόντος : προιόντος K, προσιόντας L.

we had formerly set our hearts upon, we have now come into the present misfortune, and we realize at length that our previous opinion that we did well to crave the emperor's watchful care was but folly and the beginning of the greatest evils. Indeed, this course has brought us to such straits that at the present time we have taken courage to use force once more and to arm ourselves against the barbarians. And while we may claim forgiveness if we boldly come into the presence of Belisarius—for the belly knows not shame when it lacks its necessities—our plight must be the apology for our rashness; for it will be readily agreed that there is no plight more intolerable for men than a life prolonged amid the adversities of fortune. And as to the fortune which has fallen upon us, you cannot fail to see our distress. These fields and the whole country have fallen under the hand of the enemy; and this city has been shut off from all good things for we know not how long a time. And as for the Romans, some already lie in death, and it has not been their portion to be hidden in the earth, and we who survive, to put all our terrible misfortunes in a word, only pray to be placed beside those who lie thus. For starvation shews to those upon whom it comes that all other evils can be endured, and wherever it appears it is attended by oblivion of all other sufferings, and causes all other forms of death, except that which proceeds from itself, to seem pleasant to men. Now, therefore, before the evil has yet mastered us, grant us leave on our own behalf to take up the struggle, which will result either in our overcoming the enemy or in deliverance

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 22 σεται. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἢ μέλλησις  
φέρει, πολλὴ ἄνοια ἂν εἴη προτερήσασιν ἐς κίνδυνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων καθίστασθαι, οἷς δὲ τῇ βραδυτῇτι δυσκολώτερος ὁ ἀγὼν γίνεται, τὸ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀναβάλλεσθαι χρόνον τῆς παραυτίκα προπετείας μεμπτότερον.”
- 23 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε· “Ἄλλ’ ἔμοιγε καὶ λίαν προσδεχομένῳ τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν γεγένηται πάντα, ἐκβέβηκε
- 24 δὲ παρὰ δόξαν οὐδέν. ἐγὼ γὰρ πάσαι οἶδα δῆμον ὅτι πρᾶγμα ἀβουλότατόν ἐστι, καὶ οὔτε τὰ παρόντα φέρειν πέφυκεν οὔτε τὰ μέλλοντα προβουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν εὐπετῶς ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀμνηχίνοις, διαφθείρεσθαι δὲ ἀνεπισκέπτως
- 25 ἐπίσταται μόνον. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐκ ἂν ποτε διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀλιγωρίαν οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἀπολέσαιμι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι οὔτε ὑμῖν τὰ βασιλέως συνδιαφθεῖ-  
26 ραιμι πράγματα. πόλεμος γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ ἀλογίστου σπουδῆς<sup>1</sup> κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ, ἀλλ’ εὐβουλία τε καὶ προμηθεῖα τὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἀεὶ σταθμώμενος
- 27 ῥοπήν. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν πεττεύειν οἰόμενοι τὸν ἕνα βούλεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀναρρίπτειν κύβον, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ σύνηθες αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ξυμφόρου τὸ σύν-  
28 τομον. εἴτα σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεσθε τοῖς πολέμοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, πότε τὰς μελέτας τοῦ πολέμου πεποιημένοι; ἢ ποῖος<sup>2</sup> τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκμαθὼν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὐ χωρεῖ<sup>3</sup> ἄχρι τῆς διαπίρας ἢ μάχῃ; οὐδὲ αὐτός οἱ ἐμμελετᾶν ὁ πολέμιος
- 29 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρέχεται.<sup>4</sup> νῦν μὲν τὴν προθυμίαν

<sup>1</sup> σπουδῆς K<sup>L</sup>: βουλῆς V<sub>1</sub>.      <sup>2</sup> ποῖος L: ποῖοις K.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκμαθὼν . . . χωρεῖ L: ἐκμαθόντες ὅπλοις, & οὐκ οἶδε χωρεῖν K, ἐκμαθόντες ὅπλοις; οὐ γὰρ οἶδε χωρεῖν Kraeheninnikov.

<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲ . . . παρέχεται L: om. K.

from our troubles. For when delay brings men hope of safety, it would be great folly for them prematurely to enter into a danger which involves their all, but when tarrying makes the struggle more difficult, to put off action even for a little time is more reprehensible than immediate and precipitate haste."

So spoke the Romans. And Belisarius replied as follows: "Well, as for me, I have been quite prepared for your conduct in every respect, and nothing that has happened has been contrary to my expectation. For long have I known that a populace is a most unreasoning thing, and that by its very nature it cannot endure the present or provide for the future, but only knows how rashly in every case to attempt the impossible and recklessly to destroy itself. But as for me, I shall never, willingly at least, be led by your carelessness either to destroy you or to involve the emperor's cause in ruin with you. For war is wont to be brought to a successful issue, not by unreasoning haste, but by the use of good counsel and forethought in estimating the turn of the scale at decisive moments. You, however, act as though you were playing at dice, and want to risk all on a single cast; but it is not my custom to choose the short course in preference to the advantageous one. In the second place, you promise that you will help us do battle against the enemy; but when have you ever taken training in war? Or who that has learned such things by the use of arms does not know that battle affords no room for experiment? Nor does the enemy, on his part, give opportunity, while the struggle is on, to practise on him. This

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- 30 ὑμῶν ἄγαμαι καὶ συγγνώμων εἰμὶ ταραχῆς τῆσδε·  
 ὥς δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς καιρὸν γέγονε καὶ  
 ἡμεῖς μελλήσει προμηθεῖ χρώμεθα ἐγὼ δηλώσω.  
 στράτευμα ἡμῖν ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσοι ἐκ πάσης γῆς  
 ἀθροίσας βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε καὶ στόλος ὅσος οὐ  
 πώποτε Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέστη τὴν τε Καρπανίας  
 31 ἀκτὴν καὶ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου τὰ πλεῖστα κα-  
 λύπτει. ὀλίγων τε ἡμερῶν ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιτη-  
 δείοις παρ' ἡμᾶς ἦξουσι, τὴν τε ἀπορίαν ἡμῖν  
 διαλύσונτες καὶ πλήθει βελῶν τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων  
 32 στρατόπεδα καταχώσונτες. ἐλογισάμην οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἐς  
 τὴν ἐκείνων παρουσίαν τὸν τῆς ξυμβολῆς μᾶλλον  
 ἀποθέσθαι καιρὸν καὶ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ τοῦ  
 πολέμου πορίζεσθαι κράτος, ἢ σπουδῇ ἀλογίστῳ  
 θρασυνόμενος τὴν τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίαν προίεσθαι.  
 ὅπως δὲ αὐτίκα τε ἦξουσι καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω  
 μελλήσουσιν, ἐγὼ προνοήσω."

### IV

- Τούτοις μὲν Ῥωμαίων τὸν δῆμον παραθρασύνας  
 Βελισάριος ἀπεπέμψατο, Προκόπιον δέ, ὃς τὰδε  
 ξυνέγραψεν, αὐτίκα ἐς Νεάπολιν ἐκέλευεν ἵεναι.  
 2 φήμη γάρ τις περιήγγελλεν ὥς στράτευμα ἐν-  
 ταῦθα βασιλεὺς πέμψειε. καὶ οἱ ἐπέστελλε ταῦς  
 τε ὅτι πλείστας σίτου ἐμπλήσασθαι καὶ στρα-  
 τιώτας ἀγεῖραι ἅπαντας ὅσους ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐκ  
 Βυζαντίου ἦκειν τετύχηκεν, ἢ ἵππων φυλακῆς  
 ἕνεκα ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐνταῦθα λελεῖφθαι, οἷους δὲ  
 πολλοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐν Καρπανίᾳ χωρία ἤκηκόει ἵεναι.

<sup>1</sup> ἐλογισάμην οὖν K: ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ ἐλογισάμην L.

time, indeed, I admire your zeal and forgive you for making this disturbance ; but that you have taken this action at an unseasonable time and that the policy of waiting which we are following is prudent, I shall now make clear. The emperor has gathered for us from the whole earth and despatched an army too great to number, and a fleet such as was never brought together by the Romans now covers the shore of Campania and the greater part of the Ionian Gulf. And within a few days these reinforcements will come to us and bring with them all kinds of provisions, to put an end to our destitution and to bury the camps of the barbarians under a multitude of missiles. I have therefore reasoned that it was better to put off the time of conflict until they are present, and thus gain the victory in the war with safety, than to make a show of daring in unreasoning haste and thus throw away the salvation of our whole cause. To secure their immediate arrival and to prevent their loitering longer shall be my concern."

## IV

WITH these words Belisarius encouraged the Roman populace and then dismissed them ; and Procopius, who wrote this history, he immediately commanded to go to Naples. For a rumour was going about that the emperor had sent an army there. And he commissioned him to load as many ships as possible with grain, to gather all the soldiers who at the moment had arrived from Byzantium, or had been left about Naples in charge of horses or for any other purpose whatever - for he had heard that many such were coming to the various places in



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- τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ φρουρῶν ἀφελέσθαι,  
 ἤξειν τε ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον παρακομίζοντι ἐς  
 3 Ὀστίαν, ὅθι τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίνειον. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 ξὺν τῷ Μουνδίλᾳ τῷ δορυφόρῳ καὶ ὀλίγοις  
 ἵππεῦσι διὰ πύλης ἢ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου  
 ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, νύκτωρ διήλθε, λαθὼν τὸ τῶν  
 πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ὅπερ ἄγχιστα ὁδοῦ τῆς  
 4 Ἀππίας ἐφύλασσε. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐς Ῥώμην οἱ  
 ἀμφὶ Μουνδίλαν ἐπανήκοντες ἀφίχθαι ἤδη Προ-  
 κόπιον ἐς Καμπανίαν οὐδενὶ ἐντυχόντα τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων ἀπήγγελλον, νύκτωρ γὰρ οὐποτε τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου πορεύεσθαι,<sup>1</sup>  
 εὐέλπιδες μὲν γεγέννηνται πάντες, Βελισάριος δὲ  
 5 θαρσήςας ἤδη ἐπενόει τάδε. τῶν ἵππέων πολλοὺς  
 ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐξέπεμπεν ὀχυρώματα, ἐπιστείλας,  
 ἣν τινες τῶν πολεμίων ταύτῃ ἴωσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐσκομίσονται, ἔνθεν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπεκδρομὰς τε καὶ ἐνέδρας πανταχόθι  
 τῶν τῇδε χωρίων αἰεὶ ποιουμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν,  
 ἀλλὰ παντὶ σθένει ἀπείργειν, ὅπως ἢ τε πόλις  
 ἐλασσόνως ἢ πρότερον τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιέζοιτο καὶ  
 οἱ βάρβαροι πολιορκεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτοὶ  
 6 πολιορκεῖν Ῥωμαίους δόξειαν. Μαρτίνον μὲν  
 οὖν καὶ Τραϊανὸν ξὺν χιλίοις ἐς Ταρακίναν ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν ἰέναι. οἷς δὴ καὶ Ἀντωνίναν τὴν γυναῖκα  
 ξυνέπεμψε, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τε Νεάπολιν αὐτὴν  
 στέλλεσθαι ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ καὶ τύχην ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἀσφαλούς τὴν σφίσι ξυμβησομένην караδοκεῖν.  
 7 Μάγνον δὲ καὶ Σινθούην τὸν δορυφόρον<sup>2</sup> πεντα-

<sup>1</sup> πορεύεσθαι K : ἰέναι L.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν δορυφόρον : τὸν δορυφόρων L rec. m corr., τῶν δορυφόρων  
 K, L pr. m.

Campania—and to withdraw some of the men from the garrisons there, and then to come back with them, conveying the grain to Ostia, where the harbour of the Romans was. And Procopius, accompanied by Mundilas the guardsman and a few horsemen, passed out by night through the gate which bears the name of the Apostle Paul,<sup>1</sup> eluding the enemy's camp which had been established very close to the Appian Way to keep guard over it. And when Mundilas and his men, returning to Rome, announced that Procopius had already arrived in Campania without meeting any of the barbarians,—for at night, they said, the enemy never went outside their camp,—everybody became hopeful, and Belisarius, now emboldened, devised the following plan. He sent out many of his horsemen to the neighbouring strongholds, directing them, in case any of the enemy should come that way in order to bring provisions into their camps, that they should constantly make sallies upon them from their positions and lay ambushes everywhere about this region, and thus keep them from succeeding; on the contrary, they should with all their might hedge them in, so that the city might be in less distress than formerly through lack of provisions, and also that the barbarians might seem to be besieged rather than to be themselves besieging the Romans. So he commanded Martinus and Trajan with a thousand men to go to Taracina. And with them he sent also his wife Antonina, commanding that she be sent with a few men to Naples, there to await in safety the fortune which would befall the Romans. And he sent Magnus and Sinthues the guardsman, who took with them

<sup>1</sup> The Porta Ostiensis.

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- κοσίους μάλιστα ἐπαγομένους ἐς Τίβουρην το  
φρούριον ἔπεμψε, σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα καὶ  
8 ἑκατὸν Ῥώμης διέχον. ἐς μέντοι τὸ Ἀλβανῶν  
πόλισμα, σταδίους μὲν τοσούτους ἀπέχον, ἐν δὲ  
τῇ Ἀππία ὁδῷ κείμενον, πρότερον ἤδη Γόνθαριν  
ξὺν Ἐρουλοῖς τισὶ πέμψας ἔτυχεν, οὓς δὴ οἱ  
Γότθοι βιασάμενοι ἐξήλασαν ἐνθὲνδε οὐ πολλῷ  
ὕστερον.
- 9 Ἔστι δέ τις νεὺς Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου,  
Ῥώμης τοῦ περιβόλου τεσσαρεσκαίσεκα σταδίων  
ἀπέχων, ὃ τε ποταμὸς αὐτὸν παραρρεῖ Τίβερης.  
ἐνταῦθα ὁχύρωμα μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἐστι, στοὰ δέ τις  
ἄχρι ἐς τὸν νεὼν διήκουσα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλαι  
τε πολλαὶ οἰκοδομαὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οἶσαι οὐκ  
10 εὐέφοδον ποιοῦσι τὸν χώρον. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ  
αἰδὼς πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς Γότθοις. ἐς  
οὐδέτερον γοῦν τοῖν ἀποστόλοιν νεὼν παρὰ πάντα  
τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν ἄχαρί τι πρὸς αὐτῶν  
γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῇδε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἥπερ  
11 εἰώθει, ἐξοσιοῦσθαι ξυμβέβηκεν. ἐν τούτῳ δέ  
τῷ χωρίῳ Βαλεριανόν, τοὺς Οὐννοὺς ἅπαντας  
ἀπαγαγόντα, χαράκωμα παρὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος τὴν  
ὄχθην ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς τε  
ἀδεέστερον οἱ ἵπποι τρέφοντο καὶ οἱ Γότθοι  
μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀναστέλλοντο τοῦ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὡς  
ἀπωτάτω τῶν στρατοπέδων τῶν σφετέρων ἵεναι.
- 12 ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Οὐννοὶ  
ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οὐπερ ὁ στρατηγὸς  
ἐνετέλλετο, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλαινε.
- 13 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισάριος διαπεπραγμένος  
ἡσύχαζε, μάχης μὲν οὐκ ἄρχων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τείχους  
ἀμύνεσθαι προθυμούμενος, ἦν τις ἔξωθεν ἐπ'

about five hundred men, to the fortress of Tibur, one hundred and forty stades distant from Rome. But to the town of Albani,<sup>1</sup> which was situated on the Appian Way at the same distance from the city, he had already, as it happened, sent Gontharis with a number of Eruli, and these the Goths had driven out from there by force not long afterward.

Now there is a certain church of the Apostle Paul,<sup>2</sup> fourteen stades distant from the fortifications of Rome, and the Tiber River flows beside it. In that place there is no fortification, but a colonnade extends all the way from the city to the church, and many other buildings which are round about it render the place not easy of access. But the Goths shew a certain degree of actual respect for sanctuaries such as this. And indeed during the whole time of the war no harm came to either church of the two Apostles<sup>3</sup> at their hands, but all the rites were performed in them by the priests in the usual manner. At this spot, then, Belisarius commanded Valerian to take all the Huns and make a stockade by the bank of the Tiber, in order that their horses might be kept in greater security and that the Goths might be still further checked from going at their pleasure to great distances from their camps. And Valerian acted accordingly. Then, after the Huns had made their camp in the place where the general directed, he rode back to the city.

So Belisarius, having accomplished this, remained quiet, not offering battle, but eager to carry on the defence from the wall, if anyone should advance

<sup>1</sup> See Book V. vi. 7, note.

<sup>2</sup> The Basilica of St. Paul stood south of the city, outside the Porta Ostiensis which is still called Porta S. Paolo.

<sup>3</sup> St. Peter and St. Paul.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 14 αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> κακουργήσων ἴοι. καὶ σῖτον μέντοι τισι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου παρείχετο. Μαρτῖνος ἔτι καὶ Τραιανὸς διελθόντες νύκτωρ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδα, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ῥαρκίῃ ἐγένοντο, Ἀντωνίαν μὲν ἐς Καμπανίαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ταύτη ὀχυρώματα καταλαμβάνοντες, ἔνθεν τε ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ποιούμενοι, τῶν Γότθων τοὺς ἐς τὰ
- 15 ἐκείνη χωρία περιόντας<sup>2</sup> ἀνέστελλον. Μάγνος δὲ καὶ Σινθούης τοῦ τε φρουρίου ὅσα καταπεπτῶκει ἐν βραχεὶ ἀνωκοδομήσαντο χρόνῳ καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοντο, ἤδη μᾶλλον ἐλύπουν τοὺς πολεμίους ἅτε αὐτῶν τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα οὐκ ἄποθεν ὃν συχνὰ τε καταθέοντες καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ἐκπλήσσοντες αἰεὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραπέμποντας, ἕως Σινθούης ἐν μάχῃ δὴ τινι δόρατι πληγείς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τῶν τε νεύρων οἱ ἀποκοπέντων ἀπόμαχος τὸ
- 16 λοιπὸν γέγονε. καὶ Οὐννοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν γειτόνων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, πεποιημένοι οὐκ ἐλάσσω κακὰ τοὺς Γότθους ἐποιοῦν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ λιμῷ<sup>3</sup> ἐπιέζοντο ἤδη, οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἀδείας οὔσης τὰς τροφὰς ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον
- 17 ἐσκομίζεσθαι. καὶ λοιμὸς<sup>4</sup> δὲ αἰ τοῖς ἐπεισπεσὼν πολλοὺς ἐφθειρε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ ὕστατον, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, γεγονὸς ἔτυχε. καὶ αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι ἐνθένδε ὅσοι οὐ διεφθάρησαν ἐς
- 18 τᾶλλα χαρακώματα ὑπεχώρησαν. ταὐτὸ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸ Haury : ἐπ' αὐτῷ K, ἀπ' αὐτῇ L.

<sup>2</sup> χωρία περιόντας K, περιόντας χωρία L.

<sup>3</sup> λιμῷ K : λοιμῷ L. <sup>4</sup> λοιμὸς L : λιμὸς K.

against it from outside with evil intent. And he also furnished grain to some of the Roman populace. But Martinus and Trajan passed by night between the camps of the enemy, and after reaching Taracina sent Antonina with a few men into Campania; and they themselves took possession of the fortified places in that district, and using them as their bases of operations and making thence their sudden attacks, they checked such of the Goths as were moving about in that region. As for Magnus and Sinthues, in a short time they rebuilt such parts of the fortress<sup>1</sup> as had fallen into ruin, and as soon as they had put themselves in safety, they began immediately to make more trouble for the enemy, whose fortress was not far away, not only by making frequent raids upon them, but also by keeping such of the barbarians as were escorting provision-trains in a constant state of terror by the unexpectedness of their movements; but finally Sinthues was wounded in his right hand by a spear in a certain battle, and since the sinews were severed, he became thereafter unfit for fighting. And the Huns likewise, after they had made their camp near by, as I have said, were on their part causing the Goths no less trouble, so that these as well as the Romans were now feeling the pressure of famine, since they no longer had freedom to bring in their food-supplies as formerly. And pestilence too fell upon them and was destroying many, and especially in the camp which they had last made, close by the Appian Way, as I have previously stated.<sup>2</sup> And the few of their number who had not perished withdrew from that camp to the other camps. The Huns also

<sup>1</sup> Tibur.<sup>2</sup> Chap. iii. 7.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τοῦτο καὶ Οὐννοι παθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσῆλθον.  
 19 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο τῇδε. Προκόπιος δέ, ἐπὶ  
 ἐν Καμπαρία ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε οὐχ ἡσσαν  
 ἢ πεντακοσίους ἐνταῦθα ἡγείρε, καὶ νεῶν πολὺ τι  
 χρήμα σίτου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε.  
 20 παρὶν δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀντωνίνα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ  
 τοῦ στόλου ἤδη ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπεμελεῖτο.  
 21 Τότε καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Βέβιος ἐμυκήσατο μὲν, οὐ  
 μέντοι ἡρεύξατο, καίτοι γε καὶ λίαν ἐπίδοξος ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ὅτι ἐρεύξεται. διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐπιχωρίοις ξυνέβη ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκέναι.  
 22 τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο Νεαπόλεως μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα  
 σταδίοις διέχει, τετραμμένον αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρᾶν  
 ἄνεμον, ἀπότομον δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ἐστι, τὰ κάτω μὲν  
 ἀμφιλαφὲς κύκλῳ, τὰ δὲ ὑπερθεῖν κρημνῶδες τε  
 23 καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατον.<sup>1</sup> ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ Βεβίου ὑπερ-  
 βολῇ σπήλαιον κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα βαθὺ φαί-  
 νεται, ὥστε εἰκάζειν αὐτὸ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ  
 24 ὄρους διήκειν. καὶ πῦρ ἐνταῦθα ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν,  
 ἣν τις ὑπερκύπτειν τολμήσειε, καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τῷ  
 ἄλλῳ ἢ φλόξ ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν στρέφεται,<sup>2</sup> πρᾶγματα  
 οὐδενὶ παρεχομένη τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδὰν  
 δὲ κτύπον τινὰ μυκηθμῷ ἐμφερῇ τὸ ὄρος ἀφῇ,  
 κόνεως μέγα τι χρήμα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τοῦ  
 25 ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνίησι. καὶ ἦν μὲν τινα ὁδῷ τὸ  
 κακὸν τοῦτο βαδίζοντα λάβη, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄν-  
 θρωπον οὐδεμία μηχανὴ<sup>3</sup> βιώσεσθαί ἐστιν, ἦν δὲ  
 οἰκίαις τισὶν ἐπιπέσῃ, πίπτουσι καὶ αὐταὶ τῷ τῆς  
 26 κόνεως πλήθει ἀχθόμεναι. ἀνέμου δὲ σκληροῦ,

<sup>1</sup> ἄβατον K: ἄγριον L.

<sup>2</sup> στρέφεται Hoeschel: τρέφεται MSS.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδεμία μηχανή: οὐδεμίᾳ μηχανῇ MSS.

suffered in the same way, and so returned to Rome. Such was the course of events here. But as for Procopius, when he reached Campania, he collected not fewer than five hundred soldiers there, loaded a great number of ships with grain, and held them in readiness. And he was joined not long afterwards by Antonina, who immediately assisted him in making arrangements for the fleet.

At that time the mountain of Vesuvius rumbled, and though it did not break forth in eruption, still because of the rumbling it led people to expect with great certainty that there would be an eruption. And for this reason it came to pass that the inhabitants fell into great terror. Now this mountain is seventy stades distant from Naples and lies to the north<sup>1</sup> of it—an exceedingly steep mountain, whose lower parts spread out wide on all sides, while its upper portion is precipitous and exceedingly difficult of ascent. But on the summit of Vesuvius and at about the centre of it appears a cavern of such depth that one would judge that it extends all the way to the bottom of the mountain. And it is possible to see fire there, if one should dare to peer over the edge, and although the flames as a rule merely twist and turn upon one another, occasioning no trouble to the inhabitants of that region, yet, when the mountain gives forth a rumbling sound which resembles bellowing, it generally sends up not long afterward a great quantity of ashes. And if anyone travelling on the road is caught by this terrible shower, he cannot possibly survive, and if it falls upon houses, they too fall under the weight of the great quantity of ashes. But whenever it so

<sup>1</sup> This is an error on the part of Procopius. In point of fact it lies to the south-east of Naples.

- ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἐπιπεσόντος, ἀνιέναι μὲν αὐτὴν  
 ξυμβαίνει ἐς ὕψος μέγα, ὥς μηκέτι ἀνθρώπῳ ὀρα-  
 τὴν εἶναι,<sup>1</sup> φέρεσθαι δὲ ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ τὸ πνεῦμα  
 ἐπίφορον ᾖ,<sup>2</sup> ἐμπίπτειν τε ἐς γῆν ἢ ὥς ἐκαστάτω  
 27 τυγχάνει οὐσα. καὶ ποτε μὲν φασιν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ  
 ἐπιπεσοῦσαν οὕτως ἐκπλῆξαι τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώ-  
 πους ὥστε πανδημεὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου δὴ καὶ ἐς τὸδε τοῦ  
 χρόνου λιταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν  
 ἐγνωσαν, ἐς Τρίπολιν δὲ τῆς Λιβύης χρόνῳ ἑτέρῳ  
 28 ἐμπεπτωκέναι. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν ἑκα-  
 τὸν ἢ καὶ πλείονων τὸν μυκηθμὸν τοῦτόν φασ.  
 γενέσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι θάσσον ξυμ-  
 29 βῆναι. τοῦτο μέντοι ἀπισχυρισάμενοι λέγουσιν,  
 ὅτι δὴ ἐπειδὴν τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτην ἐρεύξασθαι τὴν  
 κόνιν ξυμβαίῃ, εὐθηνεῖν ἀνάγκη τὴν ἐκείνην  
 30 χώραν καρποῖς ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ δὲ λεπτότατός ἐστι  
 καὶ πρὸς ὑγίαν ἱκανῶς πεφυκὼς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ  
 πάντων μάλιστα. ἐς τοῦτο ἀμέλει τοὺς φθόγ-  
 ῳ ἀλόντας ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν χρόνων ἰατροὶ πέμπουσι.  
 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει.

V

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου  
 κατέπλευσεν, Ἰσαύρων μὲν ἐς τὸν Νεαπόλεως  
 λιμένα τρισχίλιοι, ὧν Παῦλος καὶ Κόνων ἡγούν-  
 το, ἐς Δρυοῦντα δὲ Θωράκες ἱππεῖς ὀκτακόσιοι,  
 ὧν Ἰωάννης ἡρχεν ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ τοῦ πρῶτον  
 τετυρανηκότος ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι

<sup>1</sup> εἶναι K: γίνεσθαι L.

<sup>2</sup> ᾖ L: εἴη K.

happens that a strong wind comes on, the ashes rise to a great height, so that they are no longer visible to the eye, and are borne wherever the wind which drives them goes, falling on lands exceedingly far away. And once, they say, they fell in Byzantium<sup>1</sup> and so terrified the people there, that from that time up to the present the whole city has seen fit to propitiate God with prayers every year; and at another time they fell on Tripolis in Libya. Formerly this rumbling took place, they say, once in a hundred years or even more,<sup>2</sup> but in later times it has happened much more frequently. This, however, they declare emphatically, that whenever Vesuvius belches forth these ashes, the country round about is bound to flourish with an abundance of all crops. Furthermore, the air on this mountain is very light and by its nature the most favourable to health in the world. And indeed those who are attacked by consumption have been sent to this place by physicians from remote times. So much, then, may be said regarding Vesuvius.

## V

At this time another army also arrived by sea from Byzantium, three thousand Isaurians who put in at the harbour of Naples, led by Paulus and Conon, and eight hundred Thracian horsemen who landed at Dryous, led by John, the nephew of the Vitalian who had formerly been tyrant, and with them a

<sup>1</sup> During the eruption of 472 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Since the great eruption of 79 A.D. — the first in historical times — eruptions have succeeded one another at intervals varying from one to more than one hundred years.

- στρατιῶται ἐκ καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ χίλιοι ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μαρκεντίος  
 2 ἦρχον. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἤδη καὶ Ζήνων ξὺν τριακο-  
 σίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐς Ῥώμην διὰ τε Σαμρίου καὶ  
 Λατίνης ὁδοῦ ἀφικόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης  
 ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς Καρπανίαν ἦλθεν,  
 ἀμάξας πολλὰς ἐκ Καλαβρῶν ἔχων, ἀνεμίγνυντο<sup>1</sup>  
 αὐτοῖς πεντακόσιοι ἡθροισμένοι<sup>2</sup> ἐκ Καρπανίας,  
 3 ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται. οὗτοι μὲν ὁδὸν<sup>3</sup> τὴν παρα-  
 λίαν ξὺν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἤεσαν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες, ἦν τι  
 ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιον σφίσι, κύκλον τέ τινα καὶ  
 χαρακώματος σχῆμα τὰς ἀμάξας ποιησάμενοι  
 ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ  
 Παῦλόν τε καὶ Κόνωνα πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέ-  
 λεινον, καὶ σφίσιν ἐς Ὀστίαν συμμίξαι τὸ Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἐπίνειον, σίτον μὲν ἱκανὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις  
 ἐνθέμενοι, ναῦς δὲ ἀπάσας οὐ σίτου μόνον ἐμπλη-  
 σάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἶνου καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
 4 ἀπάντων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνόν τε  
 καὶ Τραϊανὸν ᾤοντο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ταρακίνης χωρία  
 εὐρήσειν καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐνθένδε ἵεναι· γεγονότες  
 δὲ ἄγχιστα ἔμ· θον ὡς ὀλίγω πρότερον ἐς Ῥώμην  
 μετάπεμπτοι ἀνεχώρησαν.  
 5 Βελισάριος δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προσιέ-  
 ναι<sup>4</sup> μαθὼν καὶ δείσας μὴ σφᾶς οἱ πολέμοι πλή-  
 θει πολλῶ ἀπαντήσαντες διαφθείρωσιν ἐποίει  
 6 τάδε. πύλην τὴν Φλαμινίαν, οὗ δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγ-  
 χιστα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους  
 τετύχηκε, λίθων οἰκοδομίαις αὐτὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεμίγνυντο K: ἀνεμίγνυντο L.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς. . . ἡθροισμένοι K: τοῖς πεντακόσιοις ἡθροισμένοις L.

<sup>3</sup> ὁδὸν Haurv: ὁδὸν ἔχοντες MSS.

<sup>4</sup> προσιέναι Herwerden: προίεναι MSS.

thousand other soldiers of the regular cavalry, under various commanders, among whom were Alexander and Marcentius. And it happened that Zeno with three hundred horsemen had already reached Rome by way of Samnium and the Latin Way. And when John with all the others came to Campania, provided with many waggons by the inhabitants of Calabria, his troops were joined by five hundred men who, as I have said, had been collected in Campania. These set out by the coast road with the waggons, having in mind, if any hostile force should confront them, to make a circle of the waggons in the form of a stockade and thus to ward off the enemy; and they commanded the men under Paulus and Conon to sail with all speed and join them at Ostia, the harbour of Rome<sup>1</sup>; and they put sufficient grain in the waggons and loaded all the ships, not only with grain, but also with wine and all kinds of provisions. And they, indeed, expected to find the forces of Martinus and Trajan in the neighbourhood of Taracina and to have their company from that point on, but when they approached Taracina, they learned that these forces had recently been recalled and had retired to Rome.

But Belisarius, learning that the forces of John were approaching and fearing that the enemy might confront them in greatly superior numbers and destroy them, took the following measures. It so happened that the enemy had encamped very close to the Flaminian Gate; this gate Belisarius himself had blocked up at the beginning of this war by a

<sup>1</sup> The regular harbour, Portus, was held by the Goths.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀπέφραξεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐνθένδε οἱ  
 πολέμιοι εὐπετῶς ἔχωσιν ἢ βιάσθαι ἢ τινα  
 7 ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ποιῆσθαι. καὶ ἀπὸ  
 αὐτοῦ ξυμβολὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταύτῃ γεγονέναι  
 ξυμβέβηκεν, οὐδ' ἂν τι οἱ βαρβάροι ἔσεσθαι  
 8 σφίσι πολέμιον ἐνθέρειε ὑπώπτευν. ταύτης τῆς  
 πύλης νύκτωρ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν περιελών, οὐδεὶς  
 τῶν πάντων προειρημένον, τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρα-  
 9 τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἡτοίμαζεν. ἅμα τε ἡμέρα διὰ πύλης  
 Πιγκιανῆς Τραϊανόν τε καὶ Διογένην ξὺν ἱππεῦσι  
 χιλίοις ἔπεμψεν, οὓς δὴ ἐν τε τοῖς χαρακώμασι  
 βάλλειν ἐκέλευσε καί, ἐπιθὰν οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπ'  
 αὐτοὺς ἴωσι, φεύγειν τε ἥκιστα αἰδουμένους καὶ  
 10 μέχρι ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἀπελάνειν δρόμῳ. τινὰς  
 δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐντὸς τῆς πυλίδος ἔστησεν. οἱ μὲν  
 οὖν ἀμφὶ Τραϊανόν, καθάπερ σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε  
 Βελισάριος, τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡρέθιζον, καὶ αὐτοὺς  
 οἱ Γότθοι ἐκ πάντων ἀγειρόμενοι τῶν χαρακωμά-  
 11 των ἡμύνοντο. ἀμφότεροί τε ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν  
 τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἦεσαν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι φεύγουσι  
 δόξαν παρέχοντες, οἱ δὲ διώκειν τοὺς πολεμίους  
 οἰόμενοι.  
 12 Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους  
 ἐς τὴν δίωξιν καθισταμένους εἶδε, πύλιν τε τὴν  
 Φλαμινίαν ἀνοίγνυσι καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 13 βαρβάρους οὐ προσδεχομένους ἀφήσιν. ἐν δὲ  
 τῶν Γότθων στρατόπεδον παρὰ τὴν ταύτην ὁδὸν  
 ἐτύγχανεν ὄν, καὶ τις αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἦν στενο-  
 14 χωρία κρημνώδης τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατος. ἐνταῦθα  
 τῶν τις βαρβάρων τεθωρακισμένος τε καὶ σώ-  
 ματος ἐς ἄγαν εὖ ἤκων, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε προϊόντας

structure of stone, as has been told by me in the previous narrative,<sup>1</sup> his purpose of course being to make it difficult for the enemy either to force their way in or to make any attempt upon the city at that point. Consequently no engagement had taken place at this gate, and the barbarians had no suspicion that there would be any attack upon them from there. Now Belisarius tore down by night the masonry which blocked this gate, without giving notice to anyone at all, and made ready the greatest part of the army there. And at daybreak he sent Trajan and Diogenes with a thousand horsemen through the Pincian Gate, commanding them to shoot missiles into the camps, and as soon as their opponents came against them, to flee without the least shame and to ride up to the fortifications at full speed. And he also stationed some men inside this gate. So the men under Trajan began to harass the barbarians, as Belisarius had directed them to do, and the Goths, gathering from all the camps, began to defend themselves. And both armies began to move as fast as they could toward the fortifications of the city, the one giving the appearance of fleeing, and the other supposing that they were pursuing the enemy.

But as soon as Belisarius saw the enemy take up the pursuit, he opened the Flaminian Gate and sent his army out against the barbarians, who were thus taken unawares. Now it so happened that one of the Gothic camps was on the road near this gate, and in front of it there was a narrow passage between steep banks which was exceedingly difficult of access. And one of the barbarians, a man of splendid physique and clad in a corselet, when he saw the enemy

<sup>1</sup> Book V. xix. 6.

- τοὺς πολεμίους, προτερήσας εἰστήκει καὶ τοὺς  
 ἑταίρους ἱκάλει τε καὶ τὴν στεροχωρίαν ξυμφυ-  
 15 λάσσειν ἡξίου. Μουνδίλας δὲ φθάσας αὐτόν τε  
 ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων οὐδένα ἔς τοῦ-  
 16 τον διελθεῖν τὸν στενωπὸν ξυνεχώρησε. διελθόν-  
 τες οὖν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀνιστατοῦντος, ἔς τε τὸ  
 πλησίον χαράκωμα<sup>1</sup> ἵκοντο καὶ αὐτοῦ τινες δι'  
 ὀλίγου ἀποπειρασάμενοι οὐκ ἔσχ' ἐλεῖν ἰσχύϊ  
 τοῦ χαρακώματος, καίπερ οὐ πολλῶν ἐνταῦθα  
 17 ἐγκαταλελειμμένων βαρβάρων. ἥ τε γὰρ τάφρος  
 ἔς μέγα τι βάθους ὠρώρυκτο χρήμα<sup>2</sup> καὶ χοῦς ὅς  
 ἐνθένδε ἀφήρητο, ἔς τὴν ἐντὸς αἰὲ ἐντιθέμενος  
 μοῖραν ἔς ὕψος τε ἤρετο καὶ ἀντὶ τείχους ἐγίνετο,  
 τοῖς τε σκόλοψι περισταύρωτο ὑπερφυῶς, ὀξέσι  
 18 τε λίαν καὶ συχνοῖς οὖσιν. οἷς δὲ θαρσοῦντες οἱ  
 βάρβαροι καρτερῶς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνοντο.  
 εἰς δὲ τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν, Ἀκυλῖνος  
 ὄνομα, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, λώρου<sup>3</sup>  
 λαβόμενος ἵππου, ἐνθένδε ξὺν τῷ ἵππῳ ἔς μέσον  
 τὸ χαράκωμα ἤλατο, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐναντίων  
 19 αὐτοῦ ἔκτεινε. περιστάντων δὲ αὐτὸν<sup>4</sup> συχνὰ τε  
 ἀκοντιζόντων τῶν ἐναντίων ὁ μὲν ἵππος πληγαῖς  
 ἔπεσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ δόξαν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολε-  
 20 μίων διέφυγε. πεζὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐπὶ  
 πύλας Πιγκιανὰς ἦει. ἔτι τε διώκοντας τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους καταλαβόντες καὶ κατὰ νότου βάλλ-  
 οντες ἔκτειναν.

<sup>1</sup> χαράκωμα L: om. K.      <sup>2</sup> χρήμα K: om. L.

<sup>3</sup> λώρου Hoeschel: om. K, χάρον L.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτὸν L: αὐτῶν K.

advancing, reached this place before them and took his stand there, at the same time calling his comrades and urging them to help in guarding the narrow passage. But before any move could be made Mundilas slew him and thereafter allowed none of the barbarians to go into this passage. The Romans therefore passed through it without encountering opposition, and some of them, arriving at the Gothic camp near by, for a short time tried to take it, but were unable to do so because of the strength of the stockade, although not many barbarians had been left behind in it. For the trench had been dug to an extraordinary depth, and since the earth taken from it had invariably been placed along its inner side, this reached a great height and so served as a wall<sup>1</sup>; and it was abundantly supplied with stakes, which were very sharp and close together, thus making a palisade. These defences so emboldened the barbarians that they began to repel the enemy vigorously. But one of the guards of Belisarius, Aquilinus by name, an exceedingly active man, seized a horse by the bridle and, bestriding it, leaped from the trench into the middle of the camp, where he slew some of the enemy. And when his opponents gathered about him and hurled great numbers of missiles, the horse was wounded and fell, but he himself unexpectedly made his escape through the midst of the enemy. So he went on foot with his companions toward the Pincian Gate. And overtaking the barbarians, who were still engaged in pursuing Roman horsemen,<sup>2</sup> they began to shoot at them from behind and killed some of them.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book V. xix. 11.

<sup>2</sup> These were the forces of Trajan and Diogenes.

- 21 "Οπερ δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ Τραϊανὸν κατιδόντες, ἐπιβε-  
βοηθηκότων σφίσι καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐν παρασκευῇ  
καθεστώτων ἱππέων, ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντας δρόμῳ  
22 ἐχώρουν. τότε δὴ οἱ Γότθοι καταστρατηγηθέντες  
τε καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν μέσῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδο-  
κῆτου ἀπειλημμένοι, οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐκτείνοντο.  
23 πολὺς τε αὐτῶν γέγονε φόνος καὶ ὀλίγοι κομιδῇ  
εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα διέφυγον μόλις, οἳ τε λοιποὶ  
περὶ πᾶσι τοῖς χαρακώμασι δείσαντες αὐτοῦ  
φραζάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμενον, αὐτίκα ἤ μάλα  
24 ἐπιέναι σφίσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οἴομενοι. ἐν τούτῳ  
τῷ ἔργῳ τῶν τις βαρβάρων Τραϊανὸν βάλλει εἰς  
τὸ πρόσωπον, ὀφθαλμοῦ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἄνωθεν,<sup>1</sup>  
25 ὀλίγῳ δὲ τῆς ῥινὸς ἄποθεν. καὶ σίδηρος μὲν ἅπας  
ἐντὸς τε ἐπάγῃ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀφανὴς γέγονε,  
καίπερ μεγάλην τε τὴν ἀκίδα ἔχων καὶ μακρὰν  
κομιδῇ, τοῦ δὲ βέλους τὸ λειπόμενον εἰς τὴν γῆν  
οὐδενὸς βιασαμένου εὐθὺς ἔπεσε· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι  
οὐδὲ ἀσφαλῶς εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ σίδηρός πῃ ἐρηρεῖσθαι.<sup>2</sup>  
26 Τραϊανῷ μέντοι αἰσθησις τούτου οὐδεμία ἐγένετο,  
ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἦσσον κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων τοὺς  
πολεμίους διέμεινε. πέμπτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνιαυτῷ  
αὐτόματον ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ προὔχον τὸ τοῦ  
27 σιδήρου ἄκρον ἐφάνη. τρίτῳ τε τούτο ἔτος ἔξ  
οὐ κατὰ βραχὺ πρόεισιν ἔξω αἰεί. ἐπίδοξος οὖν  
ἐστὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἔξω γενήσεσθαι ἢ  
ἀκὺς ξύμπασα. ἐμπόδιος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδαμῇ  
γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔσχεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἄνωθεν L: ἔνερθεν K.

<sup>2</sup> ἐρηρεῖσθαι Hoeschel: ἡρέριστο K, ἡρείρηστο L.

Now when Trajan and his men perceived this, since they had meanwhile been reinforced by the horsemen who had been standing near by in readiness, they charged at full speed against their pursuers. Then at length the Goths, being now out-generated and unexpectedly caught between the forces of their enemy, began to be killed indiscriminately. And there was great slaughter of them, and very few escaped to their camps, and that with difficulty; meanwhile the others, fearing for the safety of all their strongholds, shut themselves in and remained in them thereafter, thinking that the Romans would come against them without the least delay. In this action one of the barbarians shot Trajan in the face, above the right eye and not far from the nose. And the whole of the iron point penetrated the head and disappeared entirely, although the barb on it was large and exceedingly long, but the remainder of the arrow immediately fell to the ground without the application of force by anyone, in my opinion because the iron point had never been securely fastened to the shaft. Trajan, however, paid no heed to this at all, but continued none the less killing and pursuing the enemy. But in the fifth year afterward the tip of the iron of its own accord began to project visibly from his face. And this is now the third year since it has been slowly but steadily coming out. It is to be expected, therefore, that the whole barb will eventually come out, though not for a long time. But it has not been an impediment to the man in any way. So much then for these matters.



VI

- Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εὐθύς μὲν ἀπεγίνωσκόν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅπως ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσωσιν ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον, πρὸς τε τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων διεφθαρμένοι, ἐς ὀλίγους τε ἤδη ἐκ μυριάδων περιεστηκότες πολλῶν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πολιορκοῦντες, ἔργῳ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ πάντων
- 2 ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ στρατεύμα ἕτερον ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμοῖς κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπύθοντο, οὐχ ὅσον ἐτύγχανεν ὄν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἢ τῆς φήμης ἐξουσία ποιεῖν ἴσχυε, κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον<sup>1</sup>
- 3 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. ἔπεμψαν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην, Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα ἐν Γότθοις δόκιμον τρίτον αὐτόν, ὃς παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·
- 4 “Ὡς μὲν οὐδετέροις ἡμῶν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεχώρηκεν ἐξεπίσταται ἡμῶν ἕκαστος ἐς αὐτὴν ἥκων τῶν ἐνθένδε δυσκόλων τὴν πείραν.
- 5 τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἑκατέρων ἀρνηθείη τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὧν γε οὐδετέροις ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κεῖσθαι συμ-
- 6 πέπτωκεν; ὥς δὲ ἀξυνέτων ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεραντά τε ταλαιπωρεῖν βούλεσθαι, φιλοφεικίας ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα, καὶ λύσιν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων μηδεμίαν εὔρεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἂν, οἶμαι, τῶν γε οὐκ
- 7 ὄντων ἀνοήτων<sup>2</sup> ἀντεῖποι. ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως

<sup>1</sup> κίνδυνον K : πόλεμον L.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν . . . ἀνοήτων Haurv : τόν γε οὐκ ὄντα ἀνόητον K, τοῦτόν γε οὐκ ὄντως ἀνόητος ᾧν L.

## VI

Now the barbarians straightway began to despair of winning the war and were considering how they might withdraw from Rome, inasmuch as they had suffered the ravages both of the pestilence and of the enemy, and were now reduced from many tens of thousands to a few men; and, not least of all, they were in a state of distress by reason of the famine, and while in name they were carrying on a siege, they were in fact being besieged by their opponents and were shut off from all necessities. And when they learned that still another army had come to their enemy from Byzantium both by land and by sea—not being informed as to its actual size, but supposing it to be as large as the free play of rumour was able to make it,—they became terrified at the danger and began to plan for their departure. They accordingly sent three envoys to Rome, one of whom was a Roman of note among the Goths, and he, coming before Belisarius, spoke as follows :

“ That the war has not turned out to the advantage of either side each of us knows well, since we both have had actual experience of its hardships. For why should anyone in either army deny facts of which neither now remains in ignorance. And no one, I think, could deny, at least no one who does not lack understanding, that it is only senseless men who choose to go on suffering indefinitely merely to satisfy the contentious spirit which moves them for the moment, and refuse to find a solution of the troubles which harass them. And whenever this situation arises, it

- ἔχη, τοὺς ἐκατέρων ἡγουμένους προσήκει μὴ  
 δόξης τῆς οἰκείας τῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίαι  
 προΐεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα  
 οὐ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σφῶν  
 ἐναντίοις ἐλέσθαι, οὕτω τε τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν  
 8 παρόντων ποιεῖσθαι δυσκόλῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν  
 μετρίων ἐφίεσθαι πᾶσι χαλεποῖς εἶδωσι πόρον.  
 τῷ δὲ φιλονεικῶ τὸ μηδὲν περαίνεισθαι τῶν θεόν-  
 9 των συμπέφυκεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν καταστροφῆς  
 πέρι τοῦδε βουλευσάμενοι τοῦ πολέμου τὰ ξύμ-  
 φορα ἐκατέροις προτεινόμενοι, ἐν οἷς τι καὶ τῶν  
 δικαίων ἐλασσοῦσθαι οἴομεθα, παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤκομεν.  
 10 ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φιλονεικίᾳ τινὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 χρώμενοι ξυνδιαφθείρεσθαι<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ξυνοί-  
 11 σοντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι βουλεύσησθε. προσή-  
 κει δὲ μὴ ξυνεχεῖ ρήσει τοὺς λόγους ἀμφοτέρους  
 ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπολαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ παραυ-  
 12 τίκα, ἣν τι μὴ ἐπιτηδείως εἰρῆσθαι δοκῇ. οὕτω  
 γὰρ ἐκατέροις εἰρηκέναι τε διὰ βραχέος ὅσα  
 σφίσι κατὰ νοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ δέοντα πεπραχέναι  
 13 ξυμβήσεται.” ἀπεκρίνατο Βελισάριος· “Οὕτω  
 μὲν, ὅπως φατέ, προῖέναι τὸν διάλογον οὐδὲν  
 κωλύσει, ὅπως δὲ εἰρηναῖά τε καὶ δίκαια πρὸς  
 ὑμῶν λέγοιτο.”
- 14 Αὐθις οὖν Γότθων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον· “Ἰδι-  
 κήκατε ἡμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ φίλους τε καὶ  
 ξυμμάχους ὄντας ὅπλα οὐ δέον ἀράμενοι. ἐροῦμεν  
 δὲ ὑπὲρ καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον οἴομεθα ξυνεπίστα-

<sup>1</sup> ξυνδιαφθείρεσθαι K: διαφθείρεσθαι L.

is the duty of the commanders on both sides not to sacrifice the lives of their subjects to their own glory, but to choose the course which is just and expedient, not for themselves alone, but also for their opponents, and thus to put an end to present hardships. For moderation in one's demands affords a way out of all difficulties, but it is the very nature of contentiousness that it cannot accomplish any of the objects which are essential. Now we, on our part, have deliberated concerning the conclusion of this war and have come before you with proposals which are of advantage to both sides, wherein we waive, as we think, some portion even of our rights. And see to it that you likewise in your deliberations do not yield to a spirit of contentiousness respecting us and thus destroy yourselves as well as us, in preference to choosing the course which will be of advantage to yourselves. And it is fitting that both sides should state their case, not in continuous speech, but each interrupting the other on the spur of the moment, if anything that is said shall seem inappropriate. For in this way each side will be able to say briefly whatever it is minded to say, and at the same time the essential things will be accomplished." Belisarius replied: "There will be nothing to prevent the debate from proceeding in the manner you suggest, only let the words spoken by you be words of peace and of justice."

So the ambassadors of the Goths in their turn said: "You have done us an injustice, O Romans, in taking up arms wrongfully against us, your friends and allies. And what we shall say is, we think, well known to each one of you as well as to ourselves.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 15 σθαι. Γότθοι γὰρ οὐ βία Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι  
γῆν τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐκτίσαντο, ἀλλ' Ὀδοάκρος  
ποτε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καθελὼν ἐς τυραννίδα τὴν  
16 τῇδε πολιτείαν μεταβαλὼν εἶχε. Ζήνων δὲ τότε  
τῆς ἐφάας κρατῶν καὶ τιμωρεῖν μὲν τῷ ξυμβεβασι-  
λευκότι βουλόμενος καὶ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ τυράννου τήνδε τὴν  
χώραν ἐλευθεροῖν, Ὀδοάκρου δὲ καταλῦσαι τὴν  
δύναμιν οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν, Θεωδέρικον ἀναπείθει  
τὸν ἡμῶν ἄρχοντα, καίπερ αὐτὸν τε καὶ Βυζάντιον  
πολιορκεῖν μέλλοντα, καταλῦσαι μὲν τὴν πρὸς  
αὐτὸν ἔχθραν τιμῆς ἀναμνησθέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ  
ἥς τετύχηκεν ἤδη, πατρίκιός τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων  
γεγονὼς ὑπάτος, Ὀδοάκρου δὲ ἀδικίας τῆς ἐς  
Αὐγούστουλον τίσασθαι, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτὸν  
τε καὶ Γότθους τὸ λοιπὸν κρατεῖν ὀρθῶς καὶ  
17 δικαίως. οὕτω τοίνυν παραλαβόντες τὴν τῆς  
Ἰταλίας ἀρχὴν τοὺς τε νόμους καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν  
διεσωσάμεθα τῶν πώποτε βεβασιλευκότων οὐ-  
δενὸς ἦσσαν, καὶ Θεωδέρικου μὲν ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν  
διαδεξαμένου τὸ Γότθων κράτος νόμος τὸ παρί-  
παν οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἐν γράμμασιν, οὐκ ἄγραφός ἐστι.  
18 τὰ δὲ τῆς εἰς θεὸν εὐσεβείας τε καὶ πίστεως  
οὕτω Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐφυλάξαμεν, ὥστε  
Ἰταλιωτῶν μὲν τὴν δόξαν οὐδεὶς οὐχ ἐκὼν οὐκ  
ἀκούσιος ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν μετέβαλε, Γότθων  
δὲ μεταβεβλημένων ἐπιστροφή τις οὐδαμῶς γέ-  
19 γονε. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἱερὰ τιμῆς παρ'  
ἡμῶν τῆς ἀνωτάτω τετύχηκεν· οὐ γὰρ οὐδεὶς εἰς τι

<sup>1</sup> καὶ K: κατὰ L.

<sup>1</sup> 476 A.D. Cf. Book V. i. 6-8 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Book V. i. 10, 11.

For the Goths did not obtain the land of Italy by wresting it from the Romans by force, but Odoacer in former times dethroned the emperor, changed the government of Italy to a tyranny, and so held it.<sup>1</sup> And Zeno, who then held the power of the East, though he wished to avenge his partner in the imperial office and to free this land from the usurper, was unable to destroy the authority of Odoacer. Accordingly he persuaded Theoderic, our ruler, although he was on the point of besieging him and Byzantium, not only to put an end to his hostility towards himself, in recollection of the honour which Theoderic had already received at his hands in having been made a patrician and consul of the Romans,<sup>2</sup> but also to punish Odoacer for his unjust treatment of Augustulus, and thereafter, in company with the Goths, to hold sway over the land as its legitimate and rightful rulers. It was in this way, therefore, that we took over the dominion of Italy, and we have preserved both the laws and the form of government as strictly as any who have ever been Roman emperors, and there is absolutely no law, either written or unwritten, introduced by Theoderic or by any of his successors on the throne of the Goths. And we have so scrupulously guarded for the Romans their practices pertaining to the worship of God and faith in Him, that not one of the Italians has changed his belief, either willingly or unwillingly, up to the present day, and when Goths have changed,<sup>3</sup> we have taken no notice of the matter. And indeed the sanctuaries of the Romans have received from us the highest honour; for no one who has taken refuge

<sup>3</sup> The Goths were Christians, but followed the Arian heresy.



τούτων καταφυγῶν πώποτε πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώ-  
πων βεβίασται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας τὰς τῆς πολι-  
τείας ἀρχὰς αὐτοὶ μὲν διαγεγόνασιν ἔχοντες,  
20 Γότθος δὲ αὐτῶν μετέσχευ οὐδεὶς. ἡ παρελθὼν  
τις ἡμᾶς ἐλεγχέτω, ἢν μὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἡμῖν  
εἰρήσθαι οἴηται. προσθείη δ' ἂν τις ὡς καὶ τὸ  
τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα Γότθοι ξυνεχώρουν Ῥωμαίοις  
πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν βασιλέως ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος  
21 κομίζεσθαι. ὑμεῖς δέ, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων,  
Ἰταλίας μὲν οὐ προσεποιεῖσθε κακουμένης ὑπὸ  
τῶν Ὀδοάκρου βαρβάρων, καίπερ οὐ δι' ὀλίγου,  
ἀλλ' ἐς δέκα ἐνιαυτοὺς τὰ δεινὰ εἰργασμένου, νῦν  
δὲ τοὺς δικαίως αὐτὴν κεκτημένους, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν  
22 προσήκον, βιάζεσθε. οὐκοῦν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἐκ-  
ποδὼν ἵστασθε, τά τε ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ  
ὅσα ληϊσάμενοι τετυχήκατε.”

Καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος.<sup>1</sup> “Ἡ μὲν ὑπόσχεσις ὑμῶν  
βραχέα τε εἰρήσθαι καὶ μέτρια προὔλεγεν, ἡ  
δὲ ῥῆσις μακρά τε καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀλαζονείας ὑμῖν  
23 γέγονε. Θευδέριχον γὰρ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων Ὀδο-  
άκρῳ πολεμήσοντα ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ Ἰταλίας  
αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοι· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ τύραννον  
τυράννου διαλλάσσειν βασιλεῖ ἔμελεν; ἀλλ' ἐφ'  
24 ᾧ ἐλευθέρα τε καὶ βασιλεῖ κατήκοος ἔσται. ὁ  
δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν τύραννον εὖ διαθέμενος ἀγνωμο-  
σύνη ἐς τᾶλλα οὐκ ἐν μετρίοις ἐχρήσατο· ἀπο-  
διδόναι γὰρ τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν γῆν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνω.  
25 οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε τὸν τε βιασάμενον καὶ ὃς ἂν τὰ

<sup>1</sup> βελισάριος K: βελισάριος ἔφη L.

in any of them has ever been treated with violence by any man: nay, more, the Romans themselves have continued to hold all the offices of the state, and not a single Goth has had a share in them. Let someone come forward and refute us, if he thinks that this statement of ours is not true. And one might add that the Goths have conceded that the dignity of the consulship should be conferred upon Romans each year by the emperor of the East. Such has been the course followed by us; but you, on your side, did not take the part of Italy while it was suffering at the hands of the barbarians and Odoacer, although it was not for a short time, but for ten years, that he treated the land outrageously; but now you do violence to us who have acquired it legitimately, though you have no business here. Do you therefore depart hence out of our way, keeping both that which is your own and whatever you have gained by plunder."

And Belisarius said: "Although your promise gave us to understand that your words would be brief and temperate, yet your discourse has been both long and not far from fraudulent in its pretensions. For Theoderic was sent by the Emperor Zeno in order to make war on Odoacer, not in order to hold the dominion of Italy for himself. For why should the emperor have been concerned to exchange one tyrant for another? But he sent him in order that Italy might be free and obedient to the emperor. And though Theoderic disposed of the tyrant in a satisfactory manner, in everything else he shewed an extraordinary lack of proper feeling; for he never thought of restoring the land to its rightful owner. But I, for my part, think that he who robs

- τοῦ πέλας ἐκουσίως μὴ ἀποδιδῶν ἴσον<sup>1</sup> γε εἶναι.  
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν χώραν τὴν βασιλέως ἐτέρῳ τῷ οὐποτε  
 26 οὐκ ἂν παραδοίην. εἰ δέ του ἄλλου τυχεῖν  
 βούλεσθε, λέγειν ἀφήμι.”
- 27 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι<sup>2</sup> “Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἀληθῆ πάντα  
 ἡμῖν εἴρηται οὐδὲ ὑμῶν τινα λέληθεν. ἡμεῖς  
 δὲ ὅπως ἡκιστα φιλονεικεῖν δόξαιμεν, καὶ Σικε-  
 λίας, τοσαύτης τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοιαύτης τὸν  
 πλοῦτον οὔσης, ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα. ἥς δὴ ἐκτὸς  
 Λιβύην ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσθαι οὐ δυνατόν.”
- 28 Καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος<sup>3</sup> “Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ Γότθους  
 Βρεττανίαν ὅλην ξυγχωροῦμεν ἔχειν, μείζω τε  
 παρὰ πολὺ Σικελίας οὔσαν καὶ Ῥωμαίων κατή-  
 29 κοον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γεγεννημένην. τοὺς γὰρ εὐερ-  
 γεσίας ἢ χάριτός τινος ἄρξαντας τοῖς ἴσοις  
 ἀμείβεσθαι ἄξιον.”
- 30 Βάρβαροι<sup>4</sup> “Οὐκοῦν, ἦν τι καὶ περὶ Καμ-  
 πανίας ὑμῖν ἢ Νεαπόλεως αὐτῆς εἵπομεν, οὐκ ἂν  
 δέξαισθε;”
- 31 Βελισάριος “Οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν κύριοι τὰ βασι-  
 λέως πράγματα διοικήσασθαι οὐχ<sup>5</sup> ὅπη αὐτῷ  
 βουλομένῳ ἐστίν.”
- Βάρβαροι “Οὐδ’ ἦν χρήματα ῥητὰ φέρειν  
 βασιλεῖ ἐφ’ ἑκάστον ἔτος ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τάξω-  
 μεν;”
- 32 Βελισάριος “Οὐ δῆτα. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου τοῦ  
 ἡμεῖς αὐτοκράτορες ἢ ὥστε τῷ κεκτημένῳ φυ-  
 λάξαι τὴν χώραν.”
- 33 Βάρβαροι “Φέρε δὴ, στέλλεσθαι ἡμᾶς παρὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἴσον K: τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκὼν L.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι K: om. L, οἱ γότθοι L in margin.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὁ βελισάριος K: om. L, ὁ βελισάριος L in margin.

another by violence and he who of his own will does not restore his neighbour's goods are equal. Now, as for me, I shall never surrender the emperor's country to any other. But if there is anything you wish to receive in place of it, I give you leave to speak."

And the barbarians said: "That everything which we have said is true no one of you can be unaware. But in order that we may not seem to be contentious, we give up to you Sicily, great as it is and of such wealth, seeing that without it you cannot possess Libya in security."

And Belisarius replied: "And we on our side permit the Goths to have the whole of Britain, which is much larger than Sicily and was subject to the Romans in early times. For it is only fair to make an equal return to those who first do a good deed or perform a kindness."

The barbarians: "Well, then, if we should make you a proposal concerning Campania also, or about Naples itself, will you listen to it?"

Belisarius: "No, for we are not empowered to administer the emperor's affairs in a way which is not in accord with his wish."

The barbarians: "Not even if we impose upon ourselves the payment of a fixed sum of money every year?"

Belisarius: "No, indeed. For we are not empowered to do anything else than guard the land for its owner."

The barbarians: "Come now, we must send

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<sup>1</sup> *Βασιλαίου*: this and the five titles following are supplied by Maltretus.

<sup>5</sup> *οὐχ* L: *καὶ* K.

Βασιλέα ἀνάγκη<sup>1</sup> καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὰς ξυνθήκας  
περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσασθαι. ἑεὶ δὲ καὶ τακτόν  
τινα ὀρίζεσθαι χρόνον καθ' ὃν προσήκει τὰ  
στρατόπεδα ἐς ἐκεχειρίαν παράστασθαι.”

34 Βελισάριος· “Ἐστω· γινέσθω ταῦτα. οὐ γάρ  
ποτε ὑμῖν εἰρηναῖα βουλευομένοις ἐμποδὼν στή-  
σομαι.”

35 Τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησάν τε ἐκ τῶν λόγων  
ἐκάτεροι καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἰούθων ἐς τὸ  
36 σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. ἡμέραις δὲ  
ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις συχνὰ παρ' ἀλλήλους φοι-  
τῶντες τί τε ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ διετίθεντο καὶ  
ὅπως δὴ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν τινος ἐπισήμων ἐκάτεροι  
ἀλλήλοις ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρέχονται.

## VII

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ ὃ  
τε τῶν Ἰσαύρων στόλος τῷ Ῥωμαίων λιμένι  
προσέσχε καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς Ὀστίαν  
ἦλθον, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς οὔτε καταί-  
ρουσιν οὔτε στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐμπόδιος σφίσιν  
2 ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς. ὅπως δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διανυκ-  
τερεύειν οἰοί τε ὧσιν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῆς πρὸς τῶν  
ἐναντίων, οἳ τε Ἰσαυροὶ τάφρον βαθεῖαν ἄγχιστα  
τοῦ λιμένος ὀρύξαντες φυλακὰς ἐκ περιτροπῆς  
ἀεὶ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ταῖς ἀμά-  
ξαις φραξάμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἡσυχίαν εἶχον.  
3 ἐπειδὴ τε νύξ ἐπεγένετο, Βελισάριος ἐς Ὀστίαν  
ξὺν ἰππεῦσιν ἑκατὸν ἦλθε καὶ τί τε συμπεπτω-

<sup>1</sup> ἀνάγκη K : ξυγχώρει L.

envoys to the emperor and make with him our treaty concerning the whole matter. And a definite time must also be appointed during which the armies will be bound to observe an armistice."

Belisarius: "Very well; let this be done. For never shall I stand in your way when you are making plans for peace."

After saying these things they each left the conference, and the envoys of the Goths withdrew to their own camp. And during the ensuing days they visited each other frequently and made the arrangements for the armistice, and they agreed that each side should put into the hands of the other some of its notable men as hostages to ensure the keeping of the armistice.

## VII

BUT while these negotiations were in progress at Rome, meanwhile the fleet of the Isaurians put in at the harbour<sup>1</sup> of the Romans and John with his men came to Ostia, and not one of the enemy hindered them either while bringing their ships to land or while making their camp. But in order that they might be able to pass the night safe from a sudden attack by the enemy, the Isaurians dug a deep trench close to the harbour and kept a constant guard by shifts of men, while John's soldiers made a barricade of their waggons about the camp and remained quiet. And when night came on Belisarius went to Ostia with a hundred horsemen, and after telling what had taken place in the engagement

<sup>1</sup> Ostia, since the regular harbour, Portus, was held by the Goths.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

κότα ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τά τε ξυγκείμενα σφίσι τε καὶ Γότθοις εἰπὼν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παραθαρσύνας, τά τε φορτία πέμπειν ἐκέλευε καὶ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐς Ῥώμην ἰέναι. “Ὅπως γάρ,” ἔφη, “ἄνευ  
 4 κινδύνου ἢ ὁδὸς ἔσται ἐγὼ προνοήσω.” αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὄρθρον βαθέος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλυνεν. Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἅμα ἡμέρα τῶν φορτίων τὴν παρακομιδὴν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο.  
 5 ἐδόκει δὲ χαλεπὸν καὶ δεινῶς ἄπορον τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι. οἱ τε γὰρ βόες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ’ ἡμιθνήτες ἅπαντες ἔκειντο, ἣν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον στερὴν τινα ὁδὸν ξὺν ταῖς ἀμάξαις πορεύεσθαι, καὶ διὰ <sup>1</sup> τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς βάρεις ἀνέλκειν, καθά-  
 6 περ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶθιστο, ἀδύνατα ἦν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐχομένη Ῥωμαίοις τηρिकाῦτα ἀπύ-  
 7 ρευτος ἦν, ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα, ὅσα γε παρ’ ὄχθην, ἀστίβητος παντάπασι τυγχάνει οὔσα.  
 8 διὸ δὴ τοὺς λέμβους νηῶν τῶν μειζόνων ἀπο-  
 λεξάμενοι, σάνισι τε αὐτοὺς ὑψηλαῖς κύκλῳ τειχίσαντες, ὅπως οἱ πλείοντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἥκιστα βάλλωνται, τοξότας τε καὶ ναύτας ἐσε-  
 8 βίβασαν κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστου. τῶν τε φορτίων ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅσα φέρειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἐνθέμενοι, διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐς Ῥώμην <sup>2</sup> πνεῦμα τηρήσαντες σφίσιν ἐπίφορον ἐναυτίλλοιτο, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρεβέβηθήκει. εἰλείποντο δὲ τῶν Ἰσαύρων συχτοὺς τὰς ναῦς

<sup>1</sup> διὰ Haury : om. MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ῥώμην K : ῥώμην ἤθελον ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ δὴ L.

and the agreement which had been made between the Romans and the Goths and otherwise encouraging them, he bade them bring their cargoes and come with all zeal to Rome. "For," he said, "I shall take care that the journey is free from danger." So he himself at early dawn rode back to the city, and Antonina together with the commanders began at daybreak to consider means of transporting the cargoes. But it seemed to them that the task was a hard one and beset with the greatest difficulties. For the oxen could hold out no longer, but all lay half-dead, and, furthermore, it was dangerous to travel over a rather narrow road with the waggons, and impossible to tow the barges on the river, as had formerly been the custom. For the road which is on the left<sup>1</sup> of the river was held by the enemy, as stated by me in the previous narrative,<sup>2</sup> and not available for the use of the Romans at that time, while the road on the other side of it is altogether unused, at least that part of it which follows the river-bank. They therefore selected the small boats belonging to the larger ships, put a fence of high planks around them on all sides, in order that the men on board might not be exposed to the enemy's shots, and embarked archers and sailors on them in numbers suitable for each boat. And after they had loaded the boats with all the freight they could carry, they waited for a favouring wind and set sail toward Rome by the Tiber, and a portion of the army followed them along the right<sup>1</sup> bank of the river to support them. But they left a

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* facing upstream.

<sup>2</sup> Book IV. xxvi. 14.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- φυλάσσοντας. ἔνθα<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ὁ<sup>2</sup>  
ποταμὸς ἦει.<sup>3</sup> πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἔπλεον, ἀράμενοι τὰ  
τῶν λέμβων ἰστία· ἥ δὲ ὁ ῥοὺς ἐλίσσόμενος ὁδὸν<sup>4</sup>  
πλαγίαν<sup>5</sup> ἐφέρετο, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεὶ τὰ ἰστία τῷ  
πνεύματι οὐδαμῇ ἐνηργεῖτο, ἐρέσσοντές τε καὶ  
τὸν ῥοὺν βιαζόμενοι πόνον οἱ ναῦται οὐ μέτριον  
10 εἶχον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καθή-  
μενοι ἐμπόδιοι γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἥκιστα  
ἠθέλον, ἢ κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον, ἢ οὐκ  
ἂν ποτε ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους ἐσκομίζεσθαι τι τῶν  
ἀναγκαίων οἰόμενοι, αἰτία τε οὐ λόγον ἀξία δια-  
κωλύειν τὴν τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑποσχέσει  
Βελισάριος ἐκρατύνατο, ἀξυμφορον σφίσιν εἶναι  
11 ἡγούμενοι. Γότθοι μέντοι ὅσοι ἐν Πύρῳ ἦσαν,  
ἐν χρῷ αἰὲ παραπλέοντας τοὺς πολεμίους θεώ-  
μενοι, οὐδαμῇ ἥπτοιτο, ἀλλὰ τεθηπότες ἐκάθηντο  
12 τὴν αὐτῶν ἔννοιαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ  
πολλάκις ἀναπλεύσαντες ἅπαντα κατ' ἐξουσίαν  
ἐσεκομίσαντο τὰ φορτία, οἱ μὲν ναῦται ξὺν ταῖς  
ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησαν κατὰ τάχος ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τοῦ  
ἔτους ἀμφὶ τροπᾶς χειμερινᾶς ἦν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν  
στράτευμα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐσῆλθε, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι  
Παῦλος ἐν Ὀστίᾳ ξὺν τῶν Ἰσαύρων τισὶν ἔμεινε.  
13 Μετὰ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ ὁμήρους  
ἔδοσαν, Ζήνωνια μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι, Γότθοι δὲ Οὐλίαν,  
οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἐν τρισὶ μνησὶ μηδεμιᾷ  
ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐφόδῳ χρήσονται, ἕως οἱ πρέσβεις

<sup>1</sup> ἔνθα K : om L.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ὁ Krašeninnikov : om. MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ποταμὸς ἦει K : ἐν ποταμῷ σῆϊ καὶ τοῖνον L.

<sup>4</sup> ὁδὸν K : εἰς ὁδὸν L.

<sup>5</sup> πλαγίαν Haury : πλατεῖαν MSS.

large number of Isaurians to guard the ships. Now where the course of the river was straight, they found no trouble in sailing, simply raising the sails of the boats; but where the stream wound about and took a course athwart the wind, and the sails received no impulse from it, the sailors had no slight toil in rowing and forcing the boats against the current. As for the barbarians, they sat in their camps and had no wish to hinder their enemy, either because they were terrified at the danger, or because they thought that the Romans would never by such means succeed in bringing in any provisions, and considered it contrary to their own interest, when a matter of no consequence was involved, to frustrate their hope of the armistice which Belisarius had already promised. Moreover, the Goths who were in Portus, though they could see their enemy constantly sailing by almost near enough to touch, made no move against them, but sat there wondering in amazement at the plan they had hit upon. And when the Romans had made the voyage up the river many times in the same way, and had thus conveyed all the cargoes into the city without interference, the sailors took the ships and withdrew with all speed, for it was already about the time of the winter solstice; and the rest of the army entered Rome, except, indeed, that Paulus remained in Ostia with some of the Isaurians.

And afterwards they gave hostages to one another to secure the keeping of the armistice, the Romans giving Zeno, and the Goths Ulias, a man of no mean station, with the understanding that during three months they should make no attack upon one

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπανήκοντες γνώμην τὴν βασιλέως  
14 ἀγγείλωσιν. ἦν δέ τινες καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἀδικίας οἱ ἕτεροι  
ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὑπάρξωσι, τοὺς πρίσβεις οὐδέν  
15 τι ἦσσον ἀποδοθήσεσθαι ἐς τὸ σφῶν ἔθνος. τῶν  
μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων οἱ πρέσβεις Ῥωμαίων παρα-  
πεμπόντων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦσαν, Ἰλδίγερ δέ, ὁ τῆς  
Ἀντωίνης γαμβρός, ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοις  
16 ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε. Γότθοι τε οἱ τὸ ἐν  
Πόρτῳ φρούριον εἶχον, ἐπιλελοιπότην σφῶς τῶν  
ἀναγκαίων ἐξέλιπόν τε αὐτὸ Οὐιπτίγιδος γιῶμη,  
καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον μετάπεμπτοι ἦλθον.  
Παῦλος δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐξ Ὀστίας  
17 καταλαβὼν ἔσχεν. αἵτιοι δὲ μάλιστα τούτοις  
δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς ἀπορίας  
ἐγένοντο θαλασσοκρατοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τι  
αὐτοῖς ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐ ξυγχω-  
18 ροῦντες. διὸ δὴ καὶ πύλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, λόγου  
πολλοῦ ἀξίαν, Κεντουκέλλας ὄνομα, τῶν ἐπιτη-  
δείων σπανίζοντες, ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξέλι-  
19 πον. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος,  
ἐς τὰ Ῥώμης πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν Τούσκοις κειμένη,  
σταδίοις αὐτῆς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις ἀπέ-  
20 χουσα. καὶ αὐτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες ἔτι  
μᾶλλον ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως ἦλθον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ  
Ἀλβανῶν πόλισμα ἔσχεον, Ῥώμης πρὸς ἀνίσχον-  
τα ἥλιον κείμενον, ἀνάκεχωρηκότων ἐνθένδε διὰ  
τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τηνικαῦτα τῶν πολεμίων,<sup>2</sup> παν-  
ταχόθεν δὲ ἤδη κυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους  
21 ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον. διὸ δὴ Γότθοι διαλίειν τε τὰ  
ξυγκείμενα καὶ τι ἐς Ῥωμαίους κακουργεῖν ὄρ-  
γων. πέμψαντες οὖν παρὰ Βελισάριον πρέσβεις

<sup>1</sup> τινες καὶ KW: τινος L.

<sup>2</sup> πολεμίων K: ἐναντίων L.

another, until the envoys should return from Byzantium and report the will of the emperor. And even if the one side or the other should initiate offences against their opponents, the envoys were nevertheless to be returned to their own nation. So the envoys of the barbarians went to Byzantium escorted by Romans, and Ildiger, the son-in-law of Antonina, came to Rome from Libya with not a few horsemen. And the Goths who were holding the stronghold at Portus abandoned the place by the order of Vittigis because their supplies were exhausted, and came to the camp in obedience to his summons. Whereupon Paulus with his Isaurians came from Ostia and took possession of it and held it. Now the chief reason why these barbarians were without provisions was that the Romans commanded the sea and did not allow any of the necessary supplies to be brought in to them. And it was for this reason that they also abandoned at about the same time a sea-coast city of great importance, Centumcellae<sup>1</sup> by name, that is, because they were short of provisions. This city is large and populous, lying to the west of Rome, in Tuscany, distant from it about two hundred and eighty stades. And after taking possession of it the Romans went on and extended their power still more, for they took also the town of Albani, which lies to the east of Rome, the enemy having evacuated it at that time for the same reason, and they had already surrounded the barbarians on all sides and now held them between their forces. The Goths, therefore, were in a mood to break the agreement and do some harm to the Romans. So they sent envoys to Belisarius

<sup>1</sup> Modern Civita Vecchia.



- 22 ἡδίκησθαι σφᾶς ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔφασαν· Οὐιττίγιδος  
 γὰρ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Πόρτῳ μεταπεμφαμένου  
 κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν Παῦλόν τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους τὸ  
 ταύτῃ φρούριον λόγῳ οὐδενὶ καταλαβόντας ἔχειν.  
 23 ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ τε Ἀλβανῷ καὶ Κεντου-  
 κέλλαις δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἡτιῶντο, ἡπείλουν τε,  
 ἣν μὴ ταῦτα σφίσιν ἀποδιδῶ, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν.  
 24 Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν γέλῳτι αὐτοὺς ἀπεπέμψατο,  
 παραπέτασμα μὲν εἶναι ταύτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν  
 εἰπών, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ οὐδένα ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὰ χωρία  
 25 ταῦτα Γότθοι ἐκλίποιν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποψία-  
 τινὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο.

Ἐπειτα δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ Ῥώμην εἶδε στρα-  
 τιωτῶν πλήθει ἀκμάζουσιν, ἄλλους τε ἰππέας  
 ἐς χωρία Ῥώμης μακρὰν πρὸς ἀποθὲν περιέπεμπε  
 καὶ Βιταλιανοῦ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευε  
 ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἰππεῦσιν, ὀκτακοσίοις οὖσιν,  
 ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἀλβαν διαχειμάζειν, ἐν Πικηνοῖς  
 26 κειμένην· καὶ οἱ τῶν τε Βαλεριανῷ ἐπομένῳ  
 τετρακοσίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ὧν Δαμιανὸς ὁ Βαλε-  
 ριανῷ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἦρχε, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπα-  
 σπιστῶν ὀκτακοσίους ἄνδρας, διαφερόντως ἀγα-  
 27 θοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἷς δὴ δορυφόρους δύο, Σοῦνταν  
 τε καὶ Ἀδηγιν, ἐπέστησε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν Ἰωάννη  
 ἔπεσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγοῖτο, ἐκέλευε· τῷ δὲ  
 Ἰωάννῃ ἐπήγγελλε, τέως μὲν τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσι  
 φυλάττοντας ὁρᾶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἡσυχῇ μένειν·  
 ὅταν δέ οἱ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν αὐτοῖς λελύσθαι  
 28 ξυμβαίῃ,<sup>2</sup> ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰδε· παντὶ μὲν τῷ στρα-  
 τῷ ἄφνω τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καταθεῖν τὴν  
 Πικηνῶν χώραν, ἅπαντά τε ἐξῆς περιμόντα τὰ

<sup>1</sup> οἱ K : om. L.

<sup>2</sup> ξυμβαίῃ L : σημαίνῃ K.

and asserted that they had been unjustly treated during a truce ; for when Vittigis had summoned the Goths who were in Portus to perform some service for him, Paulus and the Isaurians had seized and taken possession of the fort there for no good reason. And they made this same false charge regarding Albani and Centumcellae, and threatened that, unless he should give these places back to them, they would resent it. But Belisarius laughed and sent them away, saying that this charge was but a pretext, and that no one was ignorant of the reason why the Goths had abandoned these places. And thereafter the two sides were somewhat suspicious of one another.

But later, when Belisarius saw that Rome was abundantly supplied with soldiers, he sent many horsemen to places far distant from Rome, and commanded John, the nephew of Vitalian, and the horsemen under his command, eight hundred in number, to pass the winter near the city of Alba, which lies in Picenum ; and with him he sent four hundred of the men of Valerian, whom Damianus, the nephew of Valerian, commanded, and eight hundred men of his own guards who were especially able warriors. And in command of these he put two spearmen, Suntas and Adegis, and ordered them to follow John wherever he should lead ; and he gave John instructions that as long as he saw the enemy was keeping the agreement made between them, he should remain quiet ; but whenever he found that the armistice had been violated by them, he should do as follows : With his whole force he was to make a sudden raid and overrun the land of Picenum, visiting all the districts of that region and reaching

- ἐκείνη χωρία καὶ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς φήμης ἐπιδη-  
 29 μούντα. ταύτης γὰρ σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσης τῆς  
 χώρας ἄνδρας μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἀπολελεῖσθαι, πάντων  
 ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ὡς φαίνεται<sup>1</sup> στρατευσαμένων, παῖδας  
 δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χρήματα  
 30 παιταχῇ εἶναι. ἐξανδραποδίζειν οὖν καὶ ληΐ-  
 ζεσθαι τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα φυλασσόμενον μί-  
 ποτε Ῥωμαίων τινὲ τῶν ταύτῃ ὠκημένων λυμή-  
 31 νηται. ἦν δέ πη χωρίῳ ἐντύχη, ἄνδρας τε καὶ ὀχύ-  
 ρωμα, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἔχοντι, πάσῃ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει  
 32 ἀποπειράσασθαι. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐλεῖν δύνηται, ἐς τὰ  
 πρόσω ἰέναι, τοῦ πράγματος δέ οἱ, ἂν οὕτω τύ-  
 χοι, ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, ἢ αὐτοῦ  
 33 μένειν. προϊόντι γάρ οἱ καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὀχύρωμα  
 κατὰ νώτου ἀπολιπόντι κίνδυνος πολὺς ἐπὶ  
 πλείστον ἔσται, ἐπεὶ οὐποτ' ἀμύνειν σφίσιν  
 εὐπετῶς ἔξουσιν, ἦν που ἐνοχλοῖντο πρὸς τῶν  
 ἐναντίων. τὴν δὲ λείαν φυλάσσειν ἅπασαν, ὅπως  
 ἂν αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἢ στρατιὰ διανέ-  
 34 μοιτο. εἶτα ξὺν γέλῳτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεῖπεν·  
 “Οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ὑφ' ἐτέρων μὲν τοὺς κηφήνας  
 πόνῳ μεγάλῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἄλλους δὲ τοῦ μέλιτος  
 οὐδεμιᾷ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ὀνίνασθαι.” τοσαῦτα μὲν  
 ἐπιστείλας Βελισάριος Ἰωάννην ξὺν τῷ στρατεύ-  
 ματι ἔπεμψεν.  
 35 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃ τε Μεδιολάνων  
 ἱερεὺς Δάτιος καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἐς  
 Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενοι Βελισαρίου ἐδέοντο φρουροὺς  
 36 ὀλίγους σφίσι ξυμπέμψαι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ  
 ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, οὐ Μεδιόλανον μόνην, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> ὡς φαίνεται K: om. L.

each one before the report of his coming. For in this whole land there was virtually not a single man left, since all, as it appeared, had marched against Rome, but everywhere there were women and children of the enemy and money. He was instructed, therefore, to enslave or plunder whatever he found, taking care never to injure any of the Romans living there. And if he should happen upon any place which had men and defences, as he probably would, he was to make an attempt upon it with his whole force. And if he was able to capture it, he was to go forward, but if it should so happen that his attempt was unsuccessful, he was to march back or remain there. For if he should go forward and leave such a fortress in his rear, he would be involved in the greatest danger, since his men would never be able to defend themselves easily, if they should be harassed by their opponents. He was also to keep the whole booty intact, in order that it might be divided fairly and properly among the army. Then with a laugh he added this also: "For it is not fair that the drones should be destroyed with great labour by one force, while others, without having endured any hardship at all, enjoy the honey." So after giving these instructions, Belisarius sent John with his army.

And at about the same time Datius, the priest of Milan, and some notable men among the citizens came to Rome and begged Belisarius to send them a few guards. For they declared that they were themselves able without any trouble to detach from

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- καὶ Λιγουρίαν ὅλην πόνῳ οὐδενὶ Γότθων τε ἀπο  
 37 στῆσαι καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι. αὕτη δὲ ἡ  
 πόλις ὥκισται μὲν ἐν Λιγούροις, μέση πού μά-  
 λιστα Ῥαβέννης τε πόλεως καὶ Ἀλπεων τῶν ἐν  
 38 Γάλλων ὁρίοις κειμένη· ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν  
 ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸς ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ ἐστί· πρώτη δὲ  
 πολέων τῶν ἐσπερίων μετὰ γε Ῥώμην μεγέθει τε  
 καὶ πολυανθρωπία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία ἐτύγ-  
 χανεν οὐσα. καὶ αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος ὑποσχόμενος  
 τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσῃν κατεῖχεν αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν.

### VIII

- Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη εἶχε. τῆς δὲ τύχης ὁ  
 φθόνος ᾧδαιεν ἤδη ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, ἐπεὶ τὰ  
 πράγματα εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς σφίσιν ἐπίπροσθεν  
 προΐοντα ἑώρα, κακῶ τε κεραυνῦναι τινὶ ταῦτα  
 ἐβέλυσα, ἔριν ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας λόγου ἀξίας  
 ἐπεριόει Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ,<sup>1</sup> ἢ ὅπως  
 τε ἔφν καὶ ἐς ὃ τι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.  
 2 Πρεσίδιος ἦν τις, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ὠκνημένος μὲν  
 ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, ὧν δὲ οὐκ ἀφανής. οὗτος ὁ Πρε-  
 σίδιος, ὅτι δὴ Γότθοις προσκεκρουκῶς, ἡνίκα  
 Οὐίττιγισ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην στρατεύειν ἔμελλε, ξὺν  
 ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον δῆθεν  
 τῷ λόγῳ στελλόμενος φεύγει, οὔτε τῷ τὴν βου-  
 λὴν κοινωσάμενος οὔτε τι τῶν χρημάτων ξὺν  
 αὐτῷ ἔχων, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ξιφίδια δύο αὐτὸς  
 ἔφερεν, ὧν τὸ κουλεῶ χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ  
 λίθοις ἐντίμοις κεκαλλωπισμένῳ ἐτυχέτην. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Κωνστ.: κωνσταντιανῷ MSS.

the Goths not only Milan, but the whole of Liguria also, and to recover them for the emperor. Now this city is situated in Liguria, and lies about half way between the city of Ravenna and the Alps on the borders of Gaul; for from either one it is a journey of eight days to Milan for an unencumbered traveller: and it is the first of the cities of the West, after Rome at least, both in size and in population and in general prosperity. And Belisarius promised to fulfil their request, but detained them there during the winter season.

## VIII

SUCH was the course of these events. But the envy of fortune was already swelling against the Romans, when she saw their affairs progressing successfully and well, and wishing to mingle some evil with this good, she inspired a quarrel, on a trifling pretext, between Belisarius and Constantinus; and how this grew and to what end it came I shall now go on to relate. There was a certain Presidius, a Roman living at Ravenna, and a man of no mean station. This Presidius had given offence to the Goths at the time when Vittigis was about to march against Rome, and so he set out with some few of his domestics ostensibly on a hunting expedition, and went into exile; he had communicated his plan to no one and took none of his property with him, except indeed that he himself carried two daggers, the scabbards of which happened to be adorned with much gold and



επειδὴ ἐν Σπολιτίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐς νεῶν τινα ἔξω  
 3 τοῦ περιβόλου κατέλυσεν. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀκούσας (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔτι ἐνταῦθα διατριβὴν  
 ἔχων), τῶν τινα ὑπασπιστῶν Μαξεντίουλον πέμ-  
 ψας ἄμφω ἀφαιρεῖται λόγῳ οὐδεὶν τὸ ἀκινάκα.  
 4 περιαλγῆς δὲ γεγονὼς τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσιν ὁ ἄν-  
 θρωπος ἐς Ῥώμην ὅτι τάχιστα παρὰ Βελισάριον  
 στέλλεται, οὗ δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καὶ Κωνσταν-  
 τῖνος ἀφίκετο· ἤδη γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γότθων στρατὸς  
 5 οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι ἠγγέλλετο. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν τε  
 θορύβῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ Ῥωμαίοις καθειστήκει τὰ  
 πράγματα, σιωπῇ ὁ Πρεσίδιος ἔμενεν· ὥς δὲ τὰ  
 τε Ῥωμαίων καθυπέρτερα εἶδε καὶ Γότθων  
 πρέσβεις παρὰ βασιλέα σταλέντας, καθάπερ  
 μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, Βελισαρίῳ συχνὰ προσ-  
 ιῶν τὴν τε ἀδικίαν ἀπήγγελλε καὶ οἱ τὰ δίκαια  
 6 βοηθεῖν ἠξίου. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνῳ πολλὰ μὲν  
 αὐτός, πολλὰ δὲ δι' ἐτέρων μεμφόμενος, παρήνει  
 ἔργου τε ἀδίκου καὶ δόξης αἰσχρᾶς ἀπαλλάσ-  
 7 σεσθαι. ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντῖνος (χρὴν γάρ οἱ  
 γενέσθαι κακῶς) τοὺς τε λόγους αἰεὶ ἐρεσχελῶν  
 8 διεκρούετο καὶ τὸν ἠδίκημένον ἐτώθαζε. Βελι-  
 σαρίῳ δέ ποτε, ἵππῳ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὀχουμένῳ,  
 ἐντυχὼν ὁ Πρεσίδιος τοῦ τε χαλινοῦ τοῦ ἵππου  
 ἐλάβετο καὶ μέγα ἀναβοῶν ἠρώτα εἰ ταῦτα  
 λέγουσιν οἱ βασιλέως νόμοι, ἵνα ἐπειδάν τις τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους φυγῶν ἰκέτης ἐς αὐτοὺς ἵκοιτο, οἶδε<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀφέλονται<sup>3</sup> βία ὅσα ἂν τύχῃ ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων.  
 9 πολλῶν δὲ περιεσθηκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> κωνστ. Maltretus here and below : κωνσταντιανός MSS.

<sup>2</sup> οἶδε : οἱ δὲ K, om. L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀφέλονται K : ἀφέληται τις L.

precious stones. And when he came to Spolitium, he lodged in a certain temple outside the fortifications. And when Constantinus, who happened to be still tarrying there,<sup>1</sup> heard of this, he sent one of his guards, Maxentiolus, and took away from him both the daggers for no good reason. The man was deeply offended by what had taken place, and set out for Rome with all speed and came to Belisarius, and Constantinus also arrived there not long afterward; for the Gothic army was already reported to be not far away. Now as long as the affairs of the Romans were critical and in confusion, Presidius remained silent; but when he saw that the Romans were gaining the upper hand and that the envoys of the Goths had been sent to the emperor, as has been told by me above, he frequently approached Belisarius reporting the injustice and demanding that he assist him in obtaining his rights. And Belisarius reproached Constantinus many times himself, and many times through others, urging him to clear himself of the guilt of an unjust deed and of a dishonouring report. But Constantinus—for it must needs be that evil befall him—always lightly evaded the charge and taunted the wronged man. But on one occasion Presidius met Belisarius riding on horseback in the forum, and he laid hold of the horse's bridle, and crying out with a loud voice asked whether the laws of the emperor said that, whenever anyone fleeing from the barbarians comes to them as a suppliant, they should rob him by violence of whatever he may chance to have in his hands. And though many men gathered about and commanded him with threats to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book V. xvi. 1 ff.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- χαλινού ξὺν ἀπειλῇ κελεύοντων<sup>1</sup> μεθίεσθαι, οἱ  
 πρότερον ἀφῆκε, πρὶν δὴ αὐτῷ ὑπέσχετο Βελι-  
 10 σάριος τὰ ξιφίδια δώσειν. τῇ οἶν ὑστεραίᾳ  
 Κωνσταντῖνόν τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὺς  
 εἰς οἰκίσκον τινὰ ξυγκαλέσας Βελισάριος ἐν  
 Παλατίῳ, τῶν μὲν τῇ προτεραίᾳ συμπεπτωκότων  
 ὑπέμνησε, παρήνει δὲ ὅλγῃ γοῦν τοῦ χρόνου τοὺς  
 11 ἀκινάκας ἀποδιδόναι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν·  
 ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦ Τιβερίδος τὸ ὕδωρ  
 12 ἐμβάλλοι ἢ τῷ Πρεσιδίῳ διδοίη. θυμῷ τε ἥδη  
 ἐχόμενος Βελισάριος ἐπυιθάνετο εἰ οὐκ οἶοιτο  
 Κωνσταντῖνος πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς  
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὡμολόγει ἅπαντα πείσεσθαι·  
 βουλομένῳ γὰρ ταῦτα βασιλεῖ εἶναι· τόδε μέντοι.  
 ὃ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτάττοι, οὐ μήποτε δράσει.  
 13 Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν εἰσιέναι τοὺς δορυφόρους  
 ἐκέλευε, Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ “Ὅπως με δηλαδὴ  
 ἀποκτενοῖσιν,” ἔφη. “Οὐδαμῶς γε,” ὁ Βελισάριος  
 εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸν σὸν ὑπασπιστὴν Μαξιμί-  
 ολον, ὅς σοι τὰ ξιφίδια βιασάμενος ἤνεγκεν, ἀναγ-  
 κίσωσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποδιδόναι ἅπερ αὐτοῦ  
 14 βία λαβὼν ἔτυχεν.” ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντῖνος τεθνή-  
 ξεσθαι παραυτίκα οἶόμενος δρᾶσαί τι μέγα, πρὶν  
 15 τι αὐτὸς πάθῃ, ἐβούλετο. διὸ δὴ τὸ ξιφίδιον  
 εἵλκεν ὅπερ οἱ πρὸς τῷ μηρῷ ἀπεκρέματο, ἄφνω  
 τε αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Βελισαρίου γαστέρα ᾤσεν. ὁ  
 δὲ καταπλαγείς ὀπίσω τε ἀπέστη καὶ Βέσσα  
 ἐγγὺς που ἐστηκότι περιπλακεὶς διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυ-  
 16 σε. Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν οὖν, ἔτι τῷ θυμῷ ζέων,  
 ἐπῆει,<sup>2</sup> κατιδόντες δὲ Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς

<sup>1</sup> ξὺν ἀπ. κελεύοντων K : ξυναπειλούντων καὶ λεγόντων L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπῆει K : ἀπῆλ L.

let go his hold of the bridle, he did not let go until at last Belisarius promised to give him the daggers. On the following day, therefore, Belisarius called Constantinus and many of the commanders to an apartment in the palace, and after going over what had happened on the previous day urged him even at that late time to restore the daggers. But Constantinus refused to do so; nay, he would more gladly throw them into the waters of the Tiber than give them to Presidius. And Belisarius, being by now mastered by anger, enquired whether Constantinus did not think that he was subject to his orders. And he agreed to obey him in all other things, for this was the emperor's will; this command, however, which at the present time he was laying upon him, he would never obey. Belisarius then commanded his guards to enter, whereupon Constantinus said: "In order, plainly, to have them kill me." "By no means," said Belisarius, "but to have them compel your bodyguard Maxentius, who forcibly carried away the daggers for you, to restore to the man what he took from him by violence." But Constantinus, thinking that he was to die that very instant, wished to do some great deed before he should suffer anything himself. He accordingly drew the dagger which hung by his thigh and suddenly thrust it at the belly of Belisarius. And he in consternation stepped back, and by throwing his arms around Bessas, who was standing near, succeeded in escaping the blow. Then Constantinus, still boiling with anger, made after him; but Ildiger and Valerian, seeing what was

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τὸ ποιοῦμενον ὁ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας  
 αὐτοῦ χειρὸς λαμβανόμενος ὑπίσω αἰθεῖλλον.  
 17 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσελθόντες οἱ δορυφόροι οὓς δὴ  
 ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐκάλεσε Βελισάριος, Κωνσταν-  
 τίνου τε τὸ ξιφίδιον ξὺν βία πολλῇ ἐκ χειρὸς  
 αἱροῦσι, καὶ αὐτὸν πολλῶ θορύβῳ ἀρπάσαντες  
 οὐδὲν μὲν ἄχαρι ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα εἰργάσαντο,  
 παρόντας αἰδούμενοι τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἶμαι, ἐς  
 οἴκημα δὲ ἄλλο ἀπαγαγόντες, Βελισαρίου κελεύ-  
 18 σαντος, χρόνῳ τινὶ ὕστερον ἔκτειναν. τοῦτο  
 Βελισαρίῳ εἰργασται μόνον οὐχ ὅσιον ἔργον καὶ  
 ἡθους τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῶς ἄξιον· ἐπιεικέα γὰρ  
 πολλῇ ἐς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχρήτο. ἀλλὰ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔδει, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, Κωνσταντίνῳ γενέσθαι κακῶς.

## IX

- Γότθοι τε οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐς Ῥώμης τὸν  
 περίβολον κακουργεῖν ἤθελον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν  
 τινας ἐς τῶν ὀχετῶν ἓνα νύκτωρ καθήκαν, ὃν  
 αὐτοὶ τὸ ὕδωρ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου  
 2 ἀφήρηντο. οἱ δὲ λύχνα τε καὶ δᾶδας ἐν χερσὶν  
 ἔχοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνθένδε  
 εἰσόδου. ἔτυχε δέ τινα διώρυχα οὐ μακρὰν  
 Πιγκιανῆς πυλίδος τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τούτου κύρτωμα  
 3 ἔχον, ὅθεν δὴ τῶν τις φυλάκων τὸ πῦρ κατιδὼν  
 τοῖς ξυμφυλάσσουσιν ἔφρασεν· οἱ δὲ λύκον αὐτοῦ  
 4 παρίοντα ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν.<sup>2</sup> ταύτῃ γὰρ τὴν γῆν οὐχ  
 ὑπερέχειν τὴν τοῦ ὀχετοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ξυνέβαινε.  
 πυρὶ δὲ εἰκάζεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ λύκου ὀφθαλμοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ L: ἀλλὰ γὰρ K.

<sup>2</sup> ἔφασαν K: ἔφρασαν L.

being done, laid hold of his hands, one of the right and the other of the left, and dragged him back. And at this point the guards entered whom Belisarius had summoned a moment before, snatched the dagger of Constantinus from his hand with great violence, and seized him amid a great uproar. At the moment they did him no harm, out of respect, I suppose, to the officers present, but led him away to another room at the command of Belisarius, and at a somewhat later time put him to death. This was the only unholy deed done by Belisarius, and it was in no way worthy of the character of the man; for he always shewed great gentleness in his treatment of all others. But it had to be, as I have said, that evil should befall Constantinus.

## IX

AND the Goths not long after this wished to strike a blow at the fortifications of Rome. And first they sent some men by night into one of the aqueducts, from which they themselves had taken out the water at the beginning of this war.<sup>1</sup> And with lamps and torches in their hands they explored the entrance into the city by this way. Now it happened that not far from the small Pincian Gate an arch of this aqueduct<sup>2</sup> had a sort of crevice in it, and one of the guards saw the light through this and told his companions; but they said that he had seen a wolf passing by his post. For at that point it so happened that the structure of the aqueduct did not rise high above the ground, and they thought that the guard had imagined the wolf's eyes to be fire. So

<sup>1</sup> Book V. xix. 13.<sup>2</sup> The *Aqua Virgo*.



- 5 ὄντο. τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὅσοι τοῦ ὀχετοῦ  
ἀπεπειράσαντο, ἐπειδὴ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο,  
ἐνθα δὴ ἀνοδὸς τις ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς αὐτό που τὸ  
Παλάτιον φέρονσα, οἰκοδομία τινὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐνέ-  
6 τυχον οὔτε πρόσω ἰέναι τὸ λοιπὸν συγχωρούση  
οὔτε τῇ ἀναβάσει τὸ παράπαν χρῆσθαι. ταύτην  
δὲ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν Βελισάριος προμηθεῖα τινὶ κατ'  
ἀρχὰς τῆσδε τῆς πολιορκίας πεποίηται, ὥσπερ  
7 μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται. λίθον  
οὖν ἓνα βραχὺν ἐνθένδε ἀφελόντες ὀπίσω τε  
ἀναστρέφειν εὐθὺς ἐγνώσαν καὶ παρὰ τὸν Οὐίττι-  
γιν ἐπανήκοντες τὸν τε λίθον ἐνδεικνύμενοι πάντα  
8 ἀπήγγελλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἅμα  
τοῖς Γότθων ἀρίστοις ἐν βουλῇ εἶχε, Ῥωμαίων  
δὲ ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἀμφὶ πυλίδα Πιγκιανὴν εἶχον,  
μνήμην τῆς τοῦ λύκου ὑποψίας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς  
9 ἐποιοῦντο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περι-  
φερόμενος ἐς Βελισάριον ἦλθεν, οὐ παρέργως ὁ  
στρατηγὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρας τε  
αὐτίκα τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δοκίμων ξὺν  
Διογένει τῷ δορυφόρῳ ἐς τὸν ὀχετὸν καθῆκε καὶ  
διερευνήσασθαι ἅπαντα ξὺν πολλῷ τάχει ἐκέ-  
10 λευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὰ λύχνα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν  
δάδων ὅσα διερρυήκει πανταχοῦ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ εὗρον,  
καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἣ ὁ λίθος πρὸς τῶν Γότθων  
ἀφήρητο κατανενοηκότες Βελισαρίῳ ἀπήγγελλον.  
11 διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε τὸν ὀχετὸν ἐν μεγάλῃ φυλακῇ  
ἔσχε καὶ οἱ Ἰότθοι αἰσθόμενοι ταύτης δὴ τῆς  
πέρας ἀπέσχοντο.
- 12 Ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφαιτοῦς ἔφοδον κατὰ  
τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμνηχανῶντο οἱ βάρβαροι. τηρή-  
σαντες οὖν τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν κλίμακας τε

those barbarians who explored the aqueduct, upon reaching the middle of the city, where there was an upward passage built in olden times leading to the palace itself, came upon some masonry there which allowed them neither to advance beyond that point nor to use the ascent at all. This masonry had been put in by Belisarius as an act of precaution at the beginning of this siege, as has been set forth by me in the preceding narrative.<sup>1</sup> So they decided first to remove one small stone from the wall and then to go back immediately, and when they returned to Vittigis, they displayed the stone and reported the whole situation. And while he was considering his scheme with the best of the Goths, the Romans who were on guard at the Pincian Gate recalled among themselves on the following day the suspicion of the wolf. But when the story was passed around and came to Belisarius, the general did not treat the matter carelessly, but immediately sent some of the notable men in the army, together with the guardsman Diogenes, down into the aqueduct and bade them investigate everything with all speed. And they found all along the aqueduct the lamps of the enemy and the ashes which had dropped from their torches, and after observing the masonry where the stone had been taken out by the Goths, they reported to Belisarius. For this reason he personally kept the aqueduct under close guard; and the Goths, perceiving it, desisted from this attempt.

But later on the barbarians went so far as to plan an open attack against the fortifications. So they waited for the time of lunch, and bringing up ladders

<sup>1</sup> Book V. xix. 18.

- καὶ πῦρ ἐπαγόμενοι, ἤκιστα τῶν πολεμίων προσ-  
δεχομένων, ἐπὶ πυλίδα Πιγκιανὴν ἤεσαν, ἐλπίζι  
θαρροῦντες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν.  
ἄτε οὐ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα λειφθέντων.
- 13 ἔτυχε δὲ Ἰλδίγερ τηνικαῦτα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις  
φυλακὴν ἔχων· ἕκαστοι γὰρ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐς  
14 τὴν φρουρὰν ἐτετάχατο. ἐπεὶ οὖν εἶδε προσιόν-  
τας οὐκ ἐν τάξει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπήντησέ τε  
οὐ ξυντεταγμένοις ἐς παράταξιν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν πολλῇ  
ἀκοσμία ἰοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ  
15 τρεψάμενος συχνοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἔκτεινε. κραυγῆς δὲ με-  
γάλης καὶ ταραχῆς ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς τὸ εἶκος,  
γεγενημένης Ῥωμαῖοί τε ὡς τάχιστα πανταχόσε  
τοῦ περιβόλου ξυνέρρεον καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπρα-  
κτοὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐχώ-  
ρησαν.
- 16 Οὐτίττιγίς δὲ αὐθις ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ περιβόλου  
καθίστατο. καί, ἦν γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἐπιμαχωτάτη  
μάλιστα μοῖρα, ἥ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἡ ὄχθη ἐστίν.  
ἐπεὶ ταύτῃ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσοῦντες τοῦ  
ὑδατος τῷ ὀχυρώματι τὸ τεῖχος ἀπημελημένως  
ἐδείμαντο, βραχύ τε αὐτὸ καὶ πύργων ἔρημον  
παντάπασι ποιησάμενοι, ῥᾶον ἐνθένδε ἤλπιζε τὴν  
πόλιν αἰρήσειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τι φυλακτήριον  
17 λόγου ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα τετύχηκεν εἶναι. δύο οὖν  
Ῥωμαῖους ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν  
ῥοκημένους χρήμασιν ἀναπεῖθει οἶνον ἀσκὸν ἔχον-  
τας παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ φρουροὺς ἰεῖαι περὶ λύχνων  
ἀφάς, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶνον τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ φιλο-  
φροσύνην ἐνδεικνυμένους χαρίζεσθαι, εἶτα ξὺν  
αὐτοῖς πόρρῳ τῶν νυκτῶν καθημένους πίνειν,

<sup>1</sup> συχνοὺς K: om. L.

and fire, when their enemy were least expecting them, made an assault upon the small Pincian Gate, emboldened by the hope of capturing the city by a sudden attack, since not many soldiers had been left there. But it happened that Ildiger and his men were keeping guard at that time; for all were assigned by turns to guard-duty. So when he saw the enemy advancing in disorder, he went out against them before they were yet drawn up in line of battle and while they were advancing in great disarray, and routing those who were opposite him without any trouble he slew many. And a great outcry and commotion arose throughout the city, as was to be expected, and the Romans gathered as quickly as possible to all parts of the fortifications; whereupon the barbarians after a short time retired to their camp baffled.

But Vittigis resorted again to a plot against the wall. Now there was a certain part of it that was especially vulnerable, where the bank of the Tiber is, because at this place the Romans of old, confident in the protection afforded by the stream, had built the wall carelessly, making it low and altogether without towers; Vittigis therefore hoped to capture the city rather easily from that quarter. For indeed there was not even any garrison there of any consequence, as it happened. He therefore bribed with money two Romans who lived near the church of Peter the Apostle to pass along by the guards there at about nightfall carrying a skin full of wine, and in some way or other, by making a show of friendship, to give it to them, and then to sit drinking with them well on into the night; and they were to throw

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 18 ἐκάστῳ τε ἐς τὴν κύλικα ὑπνωτικὸν ἐμβαλεῖν  
 φάρμακον ὅπερ σφίσιν αὐτὸς ἐδεδώκει. ἀκάτους  
 δὲ λάθρα ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ ὄχθῃ ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιη-  
 σάμενος εἶχεν, αἷς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τιναίς, ἐπει-  
 δὴν τάχιστα οἱ φύλακες ὑπνῷ ἔχοντο, ξὺν  
 κλίμαξιν ἐκ σημείου ἐνὸς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαί-  
 νοντας τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι.  
 19 τό τε στράτευμα ἐς τοῦτο ἡτοίμαζεν ὅλον, ὅπως  
 20 ἅπαντα κατὰ κράτος ἢ πόλις ἀλώῃ. τούτων δὲ  
 οὕτω ξυγκειμένων σφίσι, τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἄτερος  
 τοῖν Οὐιττίγιδι ἐς ταύτην δὴ παρεσκευασμένοι  
 τὴν ὑπουργίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἔδει Ῥωμαίους τούτῳ  
 τῷ Γότθων στρατοπέδῳ ἀλῶναι) αὐτεπάγγελτος  
 ἐλθὼν Βελισαρίῳ τε ἅπαντα φράζει καὶ τὸν  
 21 ἕτερον ἐνδείκνυσιν. ὃς δὴ αἰκιζόμενος ἐς φῶς τε  
 ἅπαντα ἡνεγκεν ὅσα δρᾶν ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ φάρ-  
 μακον ἐπεδείκνυεν ὅπερ Οὐίττιγισ αὐτῷ ἐδεδώκει.  
 22 καὶ αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> Βελισάριος τὴν τε ῥίνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα  
 λωβησάμενος ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὸ χαράκωμα ὄνῳ  
 23 ὀχούμενον ἔπεμψε. καὶ κατιδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ  
 βάρβαροι ἔγνωσαν ὡς ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐφῶη σφῶν τὰ  
 βουλευματα ὁδῶ ἵεναι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἂν ποτε  
 ἢ πόλις σφίσιν ἀλώσιμος εἴη.

## X

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ἐν τούτῳ Βελισάριος  
 γράψας πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἔργου ἐκέλευεν ἔχεσθαι.  
 ὁ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς δισχιλίοις ἰππεῦσι τὴν Πικηνῶν  
 περιῶν χώραν τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἐληΐζετο πάντα,

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ K : αὐτὸν L.

into the cup of each guard a sleep-producing drug which Vittigis had given them. And he stealthily got ready some skiffs, which he kept at the other bank; as soon as the guards should be overcome by sleep, some of the barbarians, acting in concert, were to cross the river in these, taking ladders with them, and make the assault on the wall. And he made ready the entire army with the intention of capturing the whole city by storm. After these arrangements were all complete, one of the two men who had been prepared by Vittigis for this service (for it was not fated that Rome should be captured by this army of the Goths) came of his own accord to Belisarius and revealed everything, and told who the other man was. So this man under torture brought to light all that he was about to do and displayed the drug which Vittigis had given him. And Belisarius first mutilated his nose and ears and then sent him riding on an ass into the enemy's camp. And when the barbarians saw him, they realised that God would not allow their purposes to have free course, and that therefore the city could never be captured by them.

## X

BUT while these things were happening, Belisarius wrote to John and commanded him to begin operations. And he with his two thousand horsemen began to go about the land of Picenum and to



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

παῖδιάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἀνδρα-  
 2 πόδων ποιούμενος λόγῳ. Οὐλίθεόν τε, τὸν Οὐιτ-  
 τίγιδος θεῖον, ξὺν Γότθων στρατῷ ὑπαντιάσαντα  
 μάχῃ νικήσας αὐτόν τε κτείνει καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν  
 3 τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατόν. διὸ δὴ οὐδεὶς οἱ  
 ἐτόλμα ἔτι ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφῆκτο ἐς  
 Αὐξιμον πόλιν, Γότθων μὲν ἐνταῦθα φρουρὰν  
 οὐκ ἀξιόχρεών τινα ἔμαθεν εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ  
 ὀχυρόν τε καὶ ἀνάλωτον κατενόησε τὸ χωρίον.  
 4 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσεδρεύειν μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλει,  
 ἀλλὰ ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἐνθένδε<sup>1</sup> ὅτι τάχιστα πρόσω  
 5 ἦλानνε. ταῦτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Οὐρβῖνον ἀμφὶ  
 πόλιν ἐποίει, ἔς τε Ἀρίμινον Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν  
 ἐπαγαγομένων ἐσήλανε, ἥπερ μιᾷς ἡμέρας ὁδῷ  
 6 Ῥαβέννης διέχει. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι ὅσοι  
 φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον, ὑποψία ἐς Ῥωμαίους  
 τοὺς οἰκήτορας πολλῇ χρώμενοι, ἐπειδὴ προΐεναι  
 τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο ἐπύθοντο, ἀπεχώρησάν τε  
 7 καὶ δρόμῳ ἰόντες ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐγένοντο. οὕτω  
 δὲ Ἰωάννης Ἀρίμινον ἔσχε πολεμίων φρουρὰν  
 ὁπισθεν ἐν τε Αὐξίμῳ καὶ Οὐρβίνῳ ἀπολιπών,  
 οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Βελισαρίου ἐντολῶν ἐς λήθην ἦλθεν,  
 οὐδὲ θράσει ἀλογίστῳ ἐχόμενος, ἐπεὶ ξὺν τῷ  
 δραστηρίῳ τὸ ξυνετὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος,  
 ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἦν Γότθοι πύθωνται τὸν Ῥω-  
 μαίων στρατὸν ἄγχιστά πη<sup>2</sup> Ῥαβέννης εἶναι,  
 αὐτίκα μάλα τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλύσουσι προσε-  
 8 δρεῖαν, ἀμφὶ τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ δείσαντες. καὶ  
 ἔτυχέ γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Οὐίττι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐνθένδε K : om. L.

<sup>2</sup> πη K : ἐπὶ L.

plunder everything before him, treating the women and children of the enemy as slaves. And when Ulitheus, the uncle of Vittigis, confronted him with an army of Goths, he defeated them in battle and killed Ulitheus himself and almost the whole army of the enemy. For this reason no one dared any longer to engage with him. But when he came to the city of Auximus,<sup>1</sup> though he learned that it contained a Gothic garrison of inconsiderable size, yet in other respects he observed that the place was strong and impossible to capture. And for this reason he was quite unwilling to lay siege to it, but departing from there as quickly as he could, he moved forward. And he did this same thing at the city of Urbinus,<sup>2</sup> but at Ariminum,<sup>3</sup> which is one day's journey distant from Ravenna, he marched into the city at the invitation of the Romans. Now all the barbarians who were keeping guard there were very suspicious of the Roman inhabitants, and as soon as they learned that this army was approaching, they withdrew and ran until they reached Ravenna. And thus John secured Ariminum; but he had meanwhile left in his rear a garrison of the enemy both at Auximus and at Urbinus, not because he had forgotten the commands of Belisarius, nor because he was carried away by unreasoning boldness, since he had wisdom as well as energy, but because he reasoned - correctly, as it turned out—that if the Goths learned that the Roman army was close to Ravenna, they would instantly break up the siege of Rome because of their fears regarding this place. And in fact his reasoning proved to be true. For as

<sup>1</sup> Modern Osimo.      <sup>2</sup> Modern Urbino.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Rimini.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- γίς τε καὶ ὁ Γότθων στρατὸς Ἀρίμινον ἔχεσθαι  
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤκουσαν, ἐς μέγα δέος ἀμφὶ Ῥαβέννη  
 ἐμπεπτωκότες ἄλλο τε ὑπολογισάμενοι τῶν  
 πάντων οὐδέν, εὐθυωρὸν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιή-  
 9 σαντο, ὥς μοι ἀντίκα λελέξεται. καὶ μέγα τι<sup>1</sup>  
 κλέος ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Ἰωάννης ἔσχε, δια-  
 10 βόητος καὶ τὸ πρότερον ὦν. τολμητὴς τε γὰρ  
 ἦν καὶ αὐτουργὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἐς τε τοῖς  
 κινδύνους ἄοκνος, δίαιτίν τε σκληρὰν καὶ ταλαι-  
 πωρίαν τινὰ ἐς αἰεὶ εἶχε βαρβάρου ὁτουοῦν ἢ  
 στρατιώτου οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης  
 11 τοιόσδε τις ἦν. Ματασοῦνθα δέ, ἡ τοῦ Οὐιττί-  
 γιδος γυνή, δεινῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀχθομένη, ὅτι δὴ  
 οἱ βία τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς κοίτην ἦλθεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν  
 Ἰωάννην ἐς Ἀρίμινον ἦκειν ἐπύθετο, περιχαρὴς  
 τε ἀτεχνῶς γέγονε καὶ πέμψασα παρ' αὐτὸν  
 λάθρα γάμου τε καὶ προδοσίας πέρι ἐς λόγους  
 ἦλθε.
- 12 Καὶ οἱ μὲν πέμποντες αἰεὶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων  
 ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. Γότθοι δὲ ἐπεὶ τά τε ἀμφὶ  
 Ἀρίμινον ἔμαθον καὶ ἅμα ξύμπαντα σφᾶς τὰ  
 ἀναγκαῖα ἐπελελοίπει, ὃ τε τῶν τριῶν μηνῶν  
 χρόνος ἐξῆκεν ἤδη, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο,  
 καίπερ οὐπὼ τι τῶν πρέσβεων ἕνεκα πεπυσμένοι.
- 13 τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἔτους ἀμφὶ τροπὰς ἑαρινὰς ἦν, τῇ δὲ  
 πολιορκία ἐνιαυτός τε ἐτέτριπτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ  
 ἡμέραι ἐννέα, ὅτε οἱ Γότθοι ἅπαντα σφῶν τὰ  
 χαρακώματα καύσαντες, ἅμα ἡμέρα ὁδοῦ εἶχοντο.
- 14 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ φεύγοντας ὁρῶντες τοὺς ἐναντίους  
 ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχον ἢ τὸ παρὸν θήσονται. τῶν τε

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μέγα τι : μέγα τι K, καὶ μέγα L.

soon as Vittigis and the army of the Goths heard that Ariminum was held by him, they were plunged into great fear regarding Ravenna, and abandoning all other considerations, they straightway made their withdrawal, as will be told by me directly. And John won great fame from this deed, though he was renowned even before. For he was a daring and efficient man in the highest degree, unflinching before danger, and in his daily life shewing at all times a certain austerity and ability to endure hardship unsurpassed by any barbarian or common soldier. Such a man was John. And Matasuntha, the wife of Vittigis, who was exceedingly hostile to her husband because he had taken her to wife by violence in the beginning,<sup>1</sup> upon learning that John had come to Ariminum was absolutely overcome by joy, and sending a messenger to him opened secret negotiations with him concerning marriage and the betrayal of the city.

So these two kept sending messengers to each other without the knowledge of the rest and arranging these matters. But when the Goths learned what had happened at Ariminum, and when at the same time all their provisions had failed them, and the three months' time had already expired, they began to make their withdrawal, although they had not as yet received any information as far as the envoys were concerned. Now it was about the spring equinox, and one year had been spent in the siege and nine days in addition, when the Goths, having burned all their camps, set out at daybreak. And the Romans, seeing their opponents in flight, were at a loss how to deal with the situation. For it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book V. xi. 27.

- γὰρ ἰππέων τὸ πλῆθος οὐ παρεῖναι τηνικαῦτα  
 ξυνέβαινεν, ἄλλων ἄλλη πη ἑσταλμένων, ὥσπερ  
 μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, αὐτοὶ τε ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς  
 τοσοῦτον πλῆθος πολεμίων οὐκ ὥντο εἶναι.  
 ἅπαντας μέντοι πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἰππέας Βελισάριος  
 15 ὥπλισε. καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ δια-  
 βάντας τὴν γέφυραν εἶδεν, ἐξῆγε διὰ Πιγκιανῆς  
 πύλης τὸ στράτευμα, ἥ τε μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γέγονε  
 16 τῶν προτέρων οὐδεμιᾶς ἡσσον. καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 μὲν καρτερῶς τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ὑφισταμένων, πολλοὶ ἐκατέρων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ξυμ-  
 βολῇ ἔπεσον· ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Γότθοι τραπόμενοι  
 μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος  
 17 ἐποιοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος τὴν γέφυραν δια-  
 βαίνειν ἠπεύγετο πρῶτος. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ἐς στενο-  
 χωρίαν πολλὴν ἀφικόμενοι τὰ χαλεπώτατα  
 ἔπασχον· πρὸς τε γὰρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν  
 18 πολεμίων ἐκτείνοντο. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς γεφύρας  
 ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ αὐτοῖς  
 ὅπλοις καταδύομενοι ἔθνησκον. οὕτω δὲ<sup>1</sup> τοὺς  
 πλείστους ἀποβαλόντες οἱ λοιποὶ τοῖς πρότεροι  
 19 διαβᾶσι ξυνέμιξαν. Λογγίνος δὲ Ἰσαυρος καὶ  
 Μουνδίλας, οἱ Βελισαρίου δορυφόροι, διαφερόν-  
 τως ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἠρίστευσαν. ἀλλὰ Μουν-  
 δίλας μὲν τέτρασι βαρβάροις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐς  
 χεῖρας ἐλθὼν ἐκτεινέ τε ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτὸς  
 20 ἐσώθη. Λογγίνος δὲ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων τροπῆς  
 αἰτιώτατος γεγονὼς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε πολὺν αὐτοῦ  
 πόθον τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών.

<sup>1</sup> δὲ L : γε K.

so happened that the majority of the horsemen were not present at that time, since they had been sent to various places, as has been stated by me above,<sup>1</sup> and they did not think that by themselves they were a match for so great a multitude of the enemy. However, Belisarius armed all the infantry and cavalry. And when he saw that more than half of the enemy had crossed the bridge, he led the army out through the small Pincian Gate, and the hand-to-hand battle which ensued proved to be equal to any that had preceded it. At the beginning the barbarians withstood their enemy vigorously, and many on both sides fell in the first encounter; but afterwards the Goths turned to flight and brought upon themselves a great and overwhelming calamity; for each man for himself was rushing to cross the bridge first. As a result of this they became very much crowded and suffered most cruelly, for they were being killed both by each other and by the enemy. Many, too, fell off the bridge on either side into the Tiber, sank with all their arms, and perished. Finally, after losing in this way the most of their number, the remainder joined those who had crossed before. And Longinus the Isaurian and Mundilas, the guards of Belisarius, made themselves conspicuous for their valour in this battle. But while Mundilas, after engaging with four barbarians in turn and killing them all, was himself saved, Longinus, having proved himself the chief cause of the rout of the enemy, fell where he fought, leaving the Roman army great regret for his loss.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. vii. 25.



XI

Οὐίττιγισ μὲν οὖν στρατῷ τῷ καταλοίπῳ ἐπὶ  
 Ῥαβέντης ἰὼν τῶν χωρίων τὰ ὀχυρώματα πλήθει  
 φρουρῶν ἐκρατύνατο, ἐν Κλουσίῳ μὲν τῇ Τούσκων  
 πόλει χιλίους τε ἄνδρας καὶ ἄρχοντα Γιβίμερα  
 ἀπολιπών, ἐν τε Οὐρβιβετῷ τοσούτους, οἷς δὴ  
 ἄρχοντα Ἀλβίλαν ἄνδρα Γότθον ἐπέστησε. καὶ  
 Οὐλιγίσαλον ἐν τῇ Τουδέρα ξὺν τετρακοσίοις  
 2 κατέλιπε. ἐν δὲ δὴ Πικηνῶν τῇ χώρα τετρα-  
 κοσίους μὲν ἐς Πέτραν τὸ φρούριον εἵασεν, οἱ καὶ  
 πρότερον ταύτῃ ὤκνητο, ἐν Αὐξίμῳ δέ, ἡ πασῶν  
 μεγίστη τῶν ἐκείνῃ πόλεων ἐστὶ, Γότθους τε  
 ἀριστίνδην ξυκειλεγμένους τετρακισχιλίους κατέ-  
 λιπε καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐς ἄγαν δραστήριον Οὐίσανδον  
 ὄνομα, ξὺν τε τῷ Μώρα δισχιλίους ἐν Οὐρβίνῳ τῇ  
 3 πόλει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φρούρια δύο, Καισὴνά  
 τε καὶ Μοντεφέρετρα, ὧν δὴ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ φρουρὰν  
 οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ κατὰ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν κατε-  
 στήσατο. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ εὐθὺς Ἀρι-  
 μίνου ὡς πολιορκήσων ἐχώρει.  
 4 Ἐπύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα Γότθοι  
 τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν, Ἰλδίγερά τε καὶ Μαρ-  
 τῖνον ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις πέμψας, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἑτέρας  
 ὁδοῦ θάπτον ἰόντες φθάσωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς  
 Ἀρίμινον ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ σφίσιν ἐπέστελλειν  
 Ἰωάννην μὲν καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας ἐνθένδε  
 ἐξαναστήσαι ὡς τάχιστα, πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν  
 ἱκανοὺς μάλιστα ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὴν φυλακὴν  
 καταστήσασθαι, ἐκ φρουρίου ἀφελομένους ὃ δὴ

<sup>1</sup> δὴ K : δι' L.

## XI

Now Vittigis with the remainder of his army marched toward Ravenna; and he strengthened the fortified places with a great number of guards, leaving in Clusium,<sup>1</sup> the city of Tuscany, one thousand men and Gibiner as commander, and in Urvi-ventus<sup>2</sup> an equal number, over whom he set Albilas, a Goth, as commander. And he left Uligisalus in Tudera<sup>3</sup> with four hundred men. And in the land of Picenum he left in the fortress of Petra four hundred men who had lived there previously, and in Auximus, which is the largest of all the cities of that country, he left four thousand Goths selected for their valour and a very energetic commander, Visandus by name, and two thousand men with Moras in the city of Urbinus. There are also two other fortresses, Caesena and Monteferetra,<sup>4</sup> in each of which he established a garrison of not less than five hundred men. Then he himself with the rest of the army moved straight for Ariminum with the purpose of laying siege to it.

But it happened that Belisarius, as soon as the Goths had broken up the siege of Rome, had sent Ildiger and Martinus with a thousand horsemen, in order that by travelling more quickly by another road they might arrive at Ariminum first, and he directed them promptly to remove John from the city and all those with him, and to put in their place fully enough men to guard the city, taking them

<sup>1</sup> Modern Chiusi.      <sup>2</sup> Urbs Vetus, modern Orvieto.

<sup>3</sup> Tudor or Tudertum, modern Todi.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Montefeltro.

- πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ Ἰονίῳ ἐστίν, Ἀγκῶν ὄνομα,  
 5 δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Ἀριμίνου διέχον. ἤδη γὰρ  
 αὐτὸ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον κατειλήφει, Κόνωνα  
 ξύν τε Ἰσαύρων καὶ Θρακῶν στρατεύματι οὐκ  
 6 ὀλίγῳ πέμψας. ἤλπιζε γάρ, ἣν πεζοί τε καὶ  
 μόνοι ἀρχόντων οὐκ ἀξιολόγων σφίσι παρόντων<sup>1</sup>  
 Ἀρίμινον ἔχωσιν, οὔποτε αὐτῆς ἐς πολιορκίαν  
 Γότθων τὴν δύναμιν καταστήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπερ-  
 ιδόντας ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης αὐτίκα ἰέναι, ἣν τε Ἀρί-  
 μινον πολιορκεῖν ἐθελήσωσι, τοῖς τε πεζοῖς τὰ  
 7 ἐπιτήδεια ἐς πλείω τινὰ χρόνον ἀρκέσειν· καὶ ὡς  
 ἰππεῖς δισχίλιοι ἔξωθεν ξύν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ  
 ἰόντες πολλά τε κακά, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους ἐργάσσονται καὶ ῥῆιν ἐς τῆς προσεδρείας  
 8 αὐτοὺς τὴν διάλυσιν ξυνελίσσουσι. τοιαύτη μὲν  
 γνώμη Βελισάριος τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνόν τε καὶ  
 Ἰλδίγερα ταῦτα ἐπήγγελλεν. οἱ δὲ διὰ Φλα-  
 μινίας ὁδοῦ πορευόμενοι λίαν τε τοὺς βαρβάρους  
 9 προτερήσαντες ἦσαν. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν πολλῷ ὁμίλῳ  
 οἱ Γότθοι σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ περιόδοις  
 ἠναγκάζοντο μακραῖς τισι χρῆσθαι τῶν τε ἀναγ-  
 καίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Φλαμινίᾳ ὁδῷ  
 ὀχυρωμάτων ἥκιστα ἐθέλοντες ἀγχιστά πη ἰέναι,<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐπεὶ αὐτὰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν  
 δεδήλωται, Ναρνίαν τε καὶ Σπολίτιον καὶ Περν-  
 σίαν εἶχον.
- 10 Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Πέτρᾳ  
 ἐνέτυχον, ὁδοῦ ποιούμενοι πάρεργον, ἀπεπειρά-  
 σαντο τοῦ ταύτῃ φρουρίου. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὀχύρωμα  
 οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἐτεκτῆναντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ χωρίου ἡ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μόνοι . . . παρόντων L: καὶ μόνοι καὶ ἀρχοντες οὐκ  
 ἀξιόλογοι σφ. παρόντος K. <sup>2</sup> ἰέναι L: εἶναι K.

from the fortress which is on the Ionian Gulf, Ancon by name, two days' journey distant from Ariminum. For he had already taken possession of it not long before, having sent Conon with no small force of Isaurians and Thracians. It was his hope that if unsupported infantry under commanders of no great note should hold Ariminum, the Gothic forces would never undertake its siege, but would regard it with contempt and so go at once to Ravenna, and that if they should decide to besiege Ariminum, the provisions there would suffice for the infantry for a somewhat longer time; and he thought also that two thousand horsemen,<sup>1</sup> attacking from outside with the rest of the army, would in all probability do the enemy great harm and drive them more easily to abandon the siege. It was with this purpose that Belisarius gave such orders to Martinus and Ildiger and their men. And they, by travelling over the Flaminian Way, arrived long before the barbarians. For since the Goths were moving in a great throng, they proceeded in a more leisurely manner, and they were compelled to make certain long detours, both because of the lack of provisions, and because they preferred not to pass close to the fortresses on the Flaminian Way, Narnia and Spolitium and Perusia, since these were in the hands of the enemy, as has been stated above.<sup>2</sup>

When the Roman army arrived at Petra, they made an attack upon the fortress there, regarding it as an incident of their expedition. Now this fortress was not devised by man, but it was made by the nature of

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the force which John had when he had set out on his raid of Picenum (cf. Chap. x. 1) and with which he was now holding Ariminum.

<sup>2</sup> Book V. xxix. 3.

- φύσις ἐξεῦρεν· ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἐς ἄγαν κρημνώ-  
 11 δης. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ποταμός  
 τις οὐδενὶ ἐσβατὸς ὀξύτητι τοῦ ῥοῦ κάτεισιν, ἐν  
 ἀριστερᾷ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν πέτρα ἀνέχει  
 ἀπότομός τε καὶ ὕψους ἐς τόσον διήκουσα, ὥστε  
 τοῖς κάτω οὔσι φαινόμενοι ἄνθρωποι, οἳ ἐν τῇ  
 ἄκρᾳ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐστήκασιν, ὄρνισι τοῖς  
 12 μικροτάτοις μεγέθους πέρι εἰκάζονται. προϊόντι  
 τε διέξοδος οὐδεμία τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν. λήγουσα  
 γὰρ ἡ πέτρα ἐς αὐτὸν που μάλιστα τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 τὸν ῥοὺν διήκει, διάβασιν τοῖς ταύτῃ ἰοῦσιν  
 13 οὐδεμίαν παρεχομένη. διώρυχα τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα  
 οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι ἐργασάμενοι, πυλίδα τῷ χω-  
 14 ρίῳ ταύτῃ πεποίηνται. φράξαντες δὲ καὶ τῆς  
 ἐτέρας εἰσόδου τὸ πλεῖστον, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσον  
 πυλίδα κἀνταῦθα λελεῖφθαι, φρουρίον τε αὐτο-  
 φυὲς ἀπειργάσαντο καὶ Πέτραν αὐτὸ λόγῳ τῷ  
 15 εἰκότι ἐκάλεσαν. οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνόν τε καὶ  
 Ἰλδίγερα πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τῶν πυλίδων τὴν ἐτέραν  
 μαχόμενοί τε καὶ πολλὰ βάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἤνυστοι,  
 καίπερ ἥκιστα σφᾶς ἀμυνομένων τῶν ταύτῃ  
 βαρβάρων, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ τοῦ κρημνώδους κατό-  
 πισθεν τὴν ἄνοδον βιασάμενοι κατὰ κορυφὴν  
 16 λίθοις ἔβαλον ἐνθένδε τοὺς Γότθους. οἱ δὲ ἐς  
 τὰς οἰκίας δρόμῳ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐσελ-  
 θόντες ἡσύχαζον. καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ τῶν  
 πολεμίων οὐδενὸς ἐπιτυγχάνειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν ταῖς  
 17 τῶν λίθων βολαῖς, ἐπειρῶσιν τάδε. τμήματα  
 μεγάλα ἐκ τοῦ σκοπέλου ποιούμενοι πολλοὶ (ὃ  
 ἅμα ὠθοῦντες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας σταθμώμενοι  
 18 ἐρρίπτουν. τὰ δὲ ὄπη ἂν τῆς οἰκοδομίας καὶ  
 κατὰ βραχὺ προσπίπτοντα ψαυοί, κατέσειέ τε

the place ; for the road passes through an extremely mountainous country at that place. On the right of this road a river descends which no man can ford because of the swiftness of the current, and on the left not far away rises a sheer rock which reaches to such a height that men who might chance to be standing on its summit, as seen by those below, resemble in size the smallest birds. And in olden times there was no passage through as one went forward. For the end of the rock reaches to the very stream of the river, affording no room for those who travel that way to pass by. So the men of ancient times constructed a tunnel at that point, and made there a gate for the place.<sup>1</sup> And they also closed up the greatest part of the other<sup>2</sup> entrance, leaving only enough space for a small gate there also, and thus rendered the place a natural fortress, which they call by the fitting name of Petra. So the men of Martinus and Ildiger first made an attack upon one of the two gates,<sup>3</sup> and shot many missiles, but they accomplished nothing, although the barbarians there made no defence at all ; but afterwards they forced their way up the cliff behind the fortress and hurled stones from there upon the heads of the Goths. And they, hurriedly and in great confusion, entered their houses and remained quiet. And then the Romans, unable to hit any of the enemy with the stones they threw, devised the following plan. They broke off large pieces from the cliff and, many of them pushing together, hurled them down, aiming at the houses. And wherever these in their fall did no more than just graze the building,

<sup>1</sup> The tunnel was made by the Emperor Vespasian, 76 A.D. This gate was at the southern end.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* northern.

<sup>3</sup> The upper, or southern, gate.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 19 *ἱκανῶς ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς μέγα  
 τι δέος καθίστη. διὸ δὴ χεῖράς τε οἱ Γότθοι τοῖς  
 ἔτι ἀμφὶ τὴν πυλίδα οὖσιν ὤρεγον καὶ ξὺν τῷ  
 φρουρίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογία παρέδωσαν, ἐφ'  
 ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι, βασιλέως τε δούλοι*  
 20 *καὶ Βελισαρίου κατήκοοι ὄντες. καὶ αὐτῶν  
 Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ Μαρτίνος τοὺς μὲν πλείστους  
 ἀναστήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ξὺν αὐτοῖς  
 ἦγον, ὀλίγους δέ τινας ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ τε καὶ  
 γυναιξὶν αὐτοῦ εἶασαν. ἐλίποντο δέ τινα καὶ*  
 21 *Ῥωμαίων φρουράν. ἐνθένδε τε ἐς Ἀγκῶνα ἐλ-  
 θόντες καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπαγαγόμενοι τῶν ἐκείνῃ  
 πεζῶν ἐς Ἀρίμινον τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο, τὴν τε*  
 22 *Βελισαρίου γνώμην ἀπήγγελλον. Ἰωάννης δὲ  
 οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔπεσθαι ἠθελε καὶ Δαμιανὸν ξὺν τοῖς  
 τετρακοσίοις κατεῖχεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ  
 ἀπολιπόντες κατὰ τάχος ἐνθένδε ξὺν τοῖς Βελι-  
 σαρίου δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς ἀνεχώ-  
 ρησαν.*

## XII

- Καὶ Οὐίπτιγισ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν παντὶ τῷ στρα-  
 τῷ ἐς Ἀρίμινον ἦλθεν, οὐδὲ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμε-  
 νοι ἐπολιόρκουν. αὐτίκα τε πύργον ξύλινον τοῦ  
 τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου καθυπέρτερον τεκτηνάμε-  
 νοι τροχοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀνεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος  
 ἦγον, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχώτατον αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν  
 2 εἶναι. ὅπως δὲ μὴ πάθωσιν ὅπερ αὐτοῖς πρὸ  
 τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν, οὐ  
 διὰ τῶν βοῶν τὸν πύργον ἦγον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἔνδον

they yet gave the whole fortress a considerable shock and reduced the barbarians to great fear. Consequently the Goths stretched out their hands to those who were still about the gate and surrendered themselves and the fort, with the condition that they themselves should remain free from harm, being slaves of the emperor and subject to Belisarius. And Ildiger and Martinus removed the most of them and led them away, putting them on a basis of complete equality with themselves, but some few they left there, together with their wives and children. And they also left something of a garrison of Romans. Thence they proceeded to Ancon, and taking with them many of the infantry in that place on the third day reached Ariminum, and announced the will of Belisarius. But John was not only unwilling himself to follow them, but also proposed to retain Damianus with the four hundred.<sup>1</sup> So they left there the infantry and retired thence with all speed, taking the spearmen and guards of Belisarius.

## XII

AND not long afterward Vittigis and his whole army arrived at Ariminum, where they established their camp and began the siege. And they immediately constructed a wooden tower higher than the circuit-wall of the city and resting on four wheels, and drew it toward that part of the wall which seemed to them most vulnerable. But in order that they might not have the same experience here which they had before the fortifications of Rome, they did not use oxen to draw the tower, but hid themselves within it and thus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chap. vii. 26.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

3 κρυπτόμενοι ἐφεῖλκον. κλίμαξ δὲ ἦν τις τοῦ  
 πύργου ἐντὸς εὐρείᾳ ἐς ἄγαν, δι' ἧς τὸ τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων πληθος ἀναβήσεσθαι εὐπετῶς ἐμελλον,  
 ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες ὥς, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τὸν πύργον  
 τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσωσιν, ἐνθένδε πόνῳ οὐδενὶ  
 ἐπιβήσονται<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὰς τοῦ τείχους ἐπάλξεις·  
 οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ πύργου ὑπερβολή<sup>2</sup>  
 4 εἴργαστο. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστά-  
 πη ξὺν τῇ μηχανῇ ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, τότε μὲν  
 ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζεν ἡδὴ, φύ-  
 λακας δὲ ἁμφὶ τὸν πύργον καταστησάμενοι  
 ἠϋλίσαντο ἅπαντες, ἐναντίωμα οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ἔσεσθαι  
 5 σφίσιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τι ἄλλο  
 ἐμπόδιον, οὐδὲ τάφρος ἐν μέσῳ ὅτι μὴ βραχεῖα  
 παντάπασιν ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα.

Οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν δέει πολλῷ ὥς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ  
 6 ἐπιούσῃ ἀπολούμενοι ἐνυκτέρευσαν. Ἰωάννης δὲ  
 οὔτε ἀπογνοὺς πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον οὔτε τῷ δέει  
 ξυνταραχθεὶς ἐπενόει τάδε. τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐν  
 τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις ἀπολιπών, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς  
 Ἰσαύροις δικέλλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τοιαῦτα  
 ὄργανα φέρουσιν, ἁworὶ τῶν νυκτῶν, οὐδενὶ τῶν  
 πάντων προειρημένον, ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου γενό-  
 7 μενος ἐκέλευσε σιωπῇ τὴν τάφρον ὀρύσσειν. οἱ  
 δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, καὶ τὸν<sup>3</sup> χοῦν ὥνπερ  
 ἐνθένδε ἀνηροῦντο ἐπὶ θύτερα τῆς τάφρου ἐς τὰ  
 πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐς αἰὲ ἐτίθεσαν,<sup>4</sup> ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα  
 8 αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τοίχου ἐγίνετο. λαθόντες τε ἐπὶ  
 πλείστον τοὺς πολεμίους καθεύδοντας βαθεῖαν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιβήσονται L : ἀποβήσονται K.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπερβολή K : περιβολή L.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸν L : τὸν K.

<sup>4</sup> ἐτίθεσαν L : ἐντιθέντες K.

hauled it forward. And there was a stairway of great breadth inside the tower on which the barbarians in great numbers were to make the ascent easily, for they hoped that as soon as they should place the tower against the fortifications, they would have no trouble in stepping thence to the parapet of the wall; for they had made the tower high with this in view. So when they had come close to the fortifications with this engine of war, they remained quiet for the time, since it was already growing dark, and stationing guards about the tower they all went off to pass the night, supposing that they would meet with no obstacle whatever. And indeed there was nothing in their way, not even a trench between them and the wall, except an exceedingly small one.

As for the Romans, they passed the night in great fear, supposing that on the morrow they would perish. But John, neither yielding to despair in face of the danger nor being greatly agitated by fear, devised the following plan. Leaving the others on guard at their posts, he himself took the Isaurians, who carried pickaxes and various other tools of this kind, and went outside the fortifications; it was late in the night and no word had been given beforehand to anyone in the city; and once outside the wall, he commanded his men in silence to dig the trench deeper. So they did as directed, and as they dug they kept putting the earth which they took out of the trench upon the side of it nearer the city-wall, and there it served them as an earthwork. And since they were unobserved for a long time by the enemy, who were sleeping.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τε καὶ εὖρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν τὴν<sup>1</sup> τάφρον ἐν ὀλίγῳ πεποιήνται, οὗ δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχώτατος τε ὁ περίβολος ἦν καὶ προσβάλλειν ξὺν τῇ
- 9 μηχανῇ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔμελλον. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πόρρῳ πον τῶν νυκτῶν αἰσθόμενοι τοῦ ποιουμένου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρύσσοντας ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ, καὶ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ τάφρῳ ὡς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο.
- 10 Οὐίττιγίς δὲ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε πεπραγμένα κατανοήσας καὶ περιαλγίσας<sup>2</sup> τοῖς συμπεσοῦσι διεχρήσατο μὲν τῶν φυλάκων τινάς, οὐδὲν δὲ ἥσσον ἐπάγειν τὴν μηχανὴν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐκέλευε φακέλλων πλῆθος τοὺς Γούθους ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ κατὰ τάχος ρίπτειν, οὕτω τε τὸν πύργον
- 11 ἐνταῦθα ἐφέλκοντας ἄγειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα, ὥσπερ Οὐίττιγίς ἐπέτελλεν,<sup>3</sup> ἔπρασσον προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ, καίπερ τῶν ἐναντίων καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένων. οἱ δὲ φάκελλοι, ἐμπεσόντος σφίσι τοῦ πύργου, βαρυνόμενοι, ὥς τὸ
- 12 εἶκος, ὑπεχώρουν κάτω. διὸ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι πρόσω ἰέναι ξὺν τῇ μηχανῇ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ἄναπτες σφίσι πολλῷ ἔτι μίλλον ἐγένετο, οὗ δὲ ξυνηήσαντες τὸν χοῦν ἔτυχον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη,
- 13 Ῥωμαῖοι. δέξαντες οὖν μὴ νυκτὸς ἐπιγινόμενης ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν μηχανὴν καύσωσιν,
- 14 ὁπίσω αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐφεῖλκον. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης κωλύειν δυγάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἐξώπλισε καὶ συγκαλέσας ἅπαντας τοιᾶδε παρεκελεύσατο·

<sup>1</sup> τὴν K: om. L.      <sup>2</sup> περιαλγίσας K: ὑπεαλγίσας L.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπέτελεν K, ἔστειλεν L.

they soon made the trench both deep and sufficiently wide, at the place where the fortifications were especially vulnerable and where the barbarians were going to make the assault with their engine of war. But far on in the night the enemy, perceiving what was being done, charged at full speed against those who were digging, and John went inside the fortifications with the Isaurians, since the trench was now in a most satisfactory condition.

But at daybreak Vittigis noted what had been accomplished and in his exceeding vexation at the occurrence executed some of the guards; however, he was as eager as before to bring his engine to bear, and so commanded the Goths to throw a great number of faggots as quickly as possible into the trench, and then by drawing the tower over them to bring it into position. This they proceeded to do as Vittigis commanded, with all zeal, although their opponents kept fighting them back from the wall with the utmost vigour. But when the weight of the tower came upon the faggots they naturally yielded and sank down. For this reason the barbarians were quite unable to go forward with the engine, because the ground became still more steep before them, where the Romans had heaped up the earth as I have stated. Fearing, therefore, that when night came on the enemy would sally forth and set fire to the engine, they began to draw it back again. This was precisely what John was eager to prevent with all his power, and so he armed his soldiers, called them all together, and exhorted them as follows:



# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 15 “Ἄνδρες, οἷς τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου ξὺν ἡμῖν  
μέτεστιν, εἴ τῳ ὑμῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐστι βιώναι  
τε καὶ τοὺς οἴκοι ἀπολελειμμένους ἰδεῖν, μὴ ἐπ’  
ἄλλῳ τῷ κεκτημένος τὴν τούτων ἐλπίδα ἢ ἐν  
16 ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ γνώτω. ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ  
Βελισάριος ἡμᾶς τὸ <sup>1</sup> ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔστελλε, πολλῶν  
ἡμᾶς ἐλπίς τε καὶ ἔρως ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἔργου προ-  
17 θυμίαν ἐνήγον. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν γῇ τῇ παραλία  
πολιορκηθῆσθαι ὑποπτεύομεν, οὔτω δὲ θα-  
λασσοκρατούντων Ῥωμαίων, οὔτε τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν  
περιόψεσθαι τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ὑπετόπησεν  
18 ἄν τις. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τότε μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐς εὐτολμίαν  
ῥῆμα ἐπίδειξις τε τῆς ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐνοίας καὶ  
τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐσόμενον κλέος ἐς πάντας ἀν-  
19θρώπους. νῦν δὲ οὔτε περιεῖναι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι μὴ διὰ  
τῆς εὐψυχίας, οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, ἐπάναγκές τε οὐκ  
ἄλλου του ἢ τοῦ βιώσεσθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἕνεκα  
20 τοῦτον ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον. ὥστε εἰ μὲν  
τισιν ὑμῶν ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιεῖσθαι ξυμβαίνει,  
πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδραγαθιζομένοις, εἴπερ τισὶ  
21 καὶ ἄλλοις, ἐνδύξοις γενέσθαι. κτῶνται γὰρ  
εὐκλείαν οὐχ οἱ τῶν καταδεεστέρων κρατήσαντες,  
ἀλλ’ οἱ ἂν τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐλαττούμενοι τῷ τῆς  
22 ψυχῆς μεγέθει νικῶεν. οἷς δὲ τὸ φιλόψυχον  
ἐμπέφυκε μᾶλλον, τούτοις δὴ μάλιστα τὸ εὐτόλ-  
μοις εἶναι ξυνοίσει,<sup>2</sup> ἵππει ἅπαντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ  
πλεῖστον, οἷς τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς,  
ὥσπερ ἡμῖν τανῦν, ἴσταται, μόνῳ ἂν τῷ τῶν  
κινδύνων ὑπερφροεῖν διασώζοιτο.”
- 23 Τοσαῦτα μὲν Ἰωάννης εἰπὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
πολεμίους τὸ στράτευμα, ὁλίγους τινας ἐς τὰς

<sup>1</sup> ἡμᾶς τὸ K : τὸ L.

<sup>2</sup> ξυνοίσει KL : ξυμβαίνει V<sub>1</sub>.

“My men, who share this danger common to us all, if it would please any man among you to live and see those whom he has left at home, let him realize that the only hope he has of obtaining these things lies in nothing but his own hands. For when Belisarius sent us forth in the beginning, hope and desire for many things made us eager for the task. For we never suspected that we should be besieged in the country along the coast, since the Romans command the sea so completely, nor would one have supposed that the emperor’s army would so far neglect us. But apart from these considerations, at that time we were prompted to boldness by an opportunity to display our loyalty to the state and by the glory which we should acquire in the sight of all men as the result of our struggles. But as things now stand, we cannot possibly survive save by courage, and we are obliged to undergo this danger with no other end in view than the saving of our own lives. Therefore, if any of you perchance lay claim to valour, all such have the opportunity to prove themselves brave men, if any men in the world have, and thereby to cover themselves with glory. For they achieve a fair name, not who overpower those weaker than themselves, but who, though inferior in equipment, still win the victory by the greatness of their souls. And as for those in whom the love of life has been more deeply implanted, it will be of advantage to these especially to be bold, for it is true of all men, as a general thing, that when their fortunes stand on the razor’s edge, as is now the case with us, they may be saved only by scorning the danger.”

With these words John led his army out against the enemy, leaving some few men to guard the

- 24 ἐπ'ἀλξεις ἀπολιπών. ἀνδρείως δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑφίστα-  
 μένων τῶν πολεμίων γέγονε καρτερὰ ἐς ἄγαν ἡ  
 μάχη. καὶ τὸν μὲν πύργον μόλις τε καὶ ὀψὲ τῆς  
 ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ σφέτερον οἱ βύρβαροι στρατόπεδον  
 25 ἐνεγκεῖν ἴσχυσαν. τοσοῦτους μέντοι τὸ πλήθος  
 ἀπέβαλον τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχίμων, ὥστε οὐκέτι  
 τειχομαχεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπογινόντες  
 ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, λιμῷ πιεζομένους προσχωρήσειν  
 αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους καταδοκοῦντες. λίαν γὰρ  
 αὐτοὺς ἅπαντα ἤδη τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοίπει,  
 ἐπεὶ οὐχ εὖρον ὅθεν αὐτὰ διαρκῶς ἐσκομίσονται.  
 26 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῇδε. Βελισάριος δὲ  
 τοῖς ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ἤκουσι χιλίους ἔπεμψεν  
 27 Ἰσαύρους τε καὶ Θράκας. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν Ἰσαύ-  
 ρων Ἐννης, τῶν δὲ Θρακῶν Παῦλος, Μουνδίλας  
 τε ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει καὶ αὐτὸς ἦρχεν ὀλίγου.  
 τινὰς τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν ἔχων. ξυιῇ  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φιδέλιος, ὃς ἐγεγόνει τῆς αὐλῆς  
 28 ἑπαρχος. ἐκ Μεδιολάνου γὰρ ὁρμώμενος ἐπιτή-  
 δειος τούτῳ ἔδοξε τῷ στρατῷ ἔπεσθαι ἅτε δύνα-  
 29 μιν τινα ἐν Λιγούροις ἔχων. πλεύσαντες οὖν ἐκ  
 τοῦ Ῥωμαίων λιμένος Γενοῦα προσέσχον, ἢ  
 Τουσκίας μὲν ἐστὶν ἐσχάτη, παράπλου δὲ καλῶς  
 30 Γάλλων<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ Ἰσπανῶν κείται. ἔνθα δὲ τὰς  
 τε ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες καὶ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι πρὸς ὡ  
 ἐχώρουν, τοὺς λέμβους τῶν νηῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀμίσξαις  
 ἐνθέμενοι, ὅπως ἂν Πάδον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνουσι  
 31 μηδὲν σφίσιν ἐμπόδιον εἴη. οὕτω γοῦν τοῦ ποτα-  
 μοῦ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πάδον  
 διαβάντες ἐς Τικηνὸν<sup>2</sup> πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, Γότθοι

<sup>1</sup> παράπλου . . . Γάλλων K : περίπου δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς γάλων L.

<sup>2</sup> Τικηνὸν Maltretus : πικηνὸν K, πιγκηνῶν L.

battlement. But the enemy withstood them bravely, and the battle became exceedingly fierce. And with great difficulty and late in the day the barbarians succeeded in bringing the tower back to their own camp. However, they lost so great a number of their fighting men that they decided thenceforth to make no further attacks upon the wall, but in despair of succeeding that way, they remained quiet, expecting that their enemy would yield to them under stress of famine. For all their provisions had already failed them completely, since they had not found any place from which they could bring in a sufficient supply.

Such was the course of events here. But as for Belisarius, he sent to the representatives of Milan<sup>1</sup> a thousand men, Isaurians and Thracians. The Isaurians were commanded by Ennes, the Thracians by Paulus, while Mundilas was set over them all and commanded in person, having as his guard some few of the guardsmen of Belisarius. And with them was also Fidelius, who had been made praetorian prefect. For since he was a native of Milan, he was regarded as a suitable person to go with this army, having as he did some influence in Liguria. They set sail, accordingly, from the harbour of Rome and put in at Genoa, which is the last city in Tuscany and well situated as a port of call for the voyage to Gaul and to Spain. There they left their ships and travelling by land moved forward, placing the boats of the ships on their waggons, in order that nothing might prevent their crossing the river Po. It was by this means, in any event, that they made the crossing of the river. And when they reached the city of Ticinum,<sup>2</sup> after crossing the Po, the Goths came out against them and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chap. vii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Pavia.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 32 αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσαντες ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ἐπεὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ τιμιώτατα βάρβαροι ἅπαντες οἱ ταύτῃ ὥκνητο ἐν Τικηνῷ<sup>1</sup> καταθέμενοι ἅτε ἐν χωρίῳ ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἔχοντι, φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα λόγου ἀξίαν ἐλίποντο. μάχης οὖν καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐνίκω Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τρεψάμενοι διέφθειράν τε συχνοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῇ διώξει ἐλεῖν παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον. μόλις γὰρ ἐπιθεῖναι τὰς πύλας οἱ βάρβαροι ἴσχυσαν, ἐγκειμένων σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπελαινόντων Φιδέλιος εὐξόμενος ἐς τινα τῶν ἐκείνην γειτῶν ἴστατος ἔμεινε. τύχῃ δέ τινι ὀκλάσαντός οἱ τοῦ ἵππου ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτὸν κατιδόντες Γότθοι, ἐπεὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστα ἐπεπτώκει, ἐπεξελθόντες ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ ἔλαθον τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ δὴ ὕστερον Μουνδίλας τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἤσχαλλον.
- 36 Ἐνθεν τε ἐς Μεδιόλανον πόλιν ἀφίκοντο καὶ αὐτὴν ἀμαχητὶ ξὺν Λιγουρία τῇ ἄλλῃ ἔσχον.
- 37 Ἄπερ ἐπειδὴ Οὐίπτιγισ ἔμαθε, στράτευμά τε πολὺ κατὰ τάχος καὶ Οὐραίαν ἄρχοντα, τὸν αὐτοῦ
- 38 ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἔπεμψε. καὶ Θευδίβερτος δέ οἱ, ὁ Φράγγων ἀρχηγός, ἄνδρας μυρίους δεηθέντι ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἀπέστειλεν, οὐ Φράγγων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ Βουργουζιῶνων, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν τὰ βασιλέως
- 39 ἀδικεῖν πράγματα. οἱ γὰρ Βουργουζῖωνες ἐθελούσιοί τε καὶ αὐτονομῶ γινώμη, οὐ Θευδιβέρτῳ κελεύοντι ἐπακούοντες εἰρήνῃ τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοιτο. οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἀναμιχθέντες ἐς τὴν Μεδιόλανον Ῥωμαίων ἥκιστα προσδεχομένων

<sup>1</sup> Τικηνῷ Maltretus : πικηνῷ K, πικηνῶν L.

engaged them in battle. And they were not only numerous but also excellent troops, since all the barbarians who lived in that region had deposited the most valuable of their possessions in Ticinum, as being a place which had strong defences, and had left there a considerable garrison. So a fierce battle took place, but the Romans were victorious, and routing their opponents, they slew a great number and came within a little of capturing the city in the pursuit. For it was only with difficulty that the barbarians succeeded in shutting the gates, so closely did their enemy press upon their heels. And as the Romans were marching away, Fidelius went into a temple there to pray, and was the last to leave. But by some chance his horse stumbled and he fell. And since he had fallen very near the fortifications, the Goths seeing him came out and killed him without being observed by the enemy. Wherefore, when this was afterwards discovered by Mundilas and the Romans, they were greatly distressed.

Then, leaving Ticinum, they arrived at the city of Milan and secured this city with the rest of Liguria without a battle. When Vittigis learned about this, he sent a large army with all speed and Uraias, his own nephew, as commander. And Theudibert, the leader of the Franks, sent him at his request ten thousand men as allies, not of the Franks themselves, but Burgundians, in order not to appear to be doing injury to the emperor's cause. For it was given out that the Burgundians made the expedition willingly and of their own choice, not as obeying the command of Theudibert. And the Goths, joined by these troops, came to Milan, made camp and began a siege



ἀφίκοιτο καὶ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν.  
 ταύτῃ γοῦν οὐδέ τι ἐσκομίσασθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων  
 Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἤχθοντο τῶν ἀναγ-  
 40 καίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦ περιβόλου  
 τὴν φυλακὴν οἱ στρατιῶται εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ὁ Μουν-  
 δίλας πόλεις τε καταλαβὼν ἔτυχεν ὅσαι Με-  
 διολάνου ἄγχιστα οὖσαι ὀχυρώματα εἶχον,  
 Βέργομόν τε καὶ Κῶμον καὶ Νοβαρίας καὶ ἄλλα  
 ἅττα πολίσματα, καὶ φρουρὰς πανταχόθι λόγου  
 ἀξίας καταστησάμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ τριακισίους  
 μάλιστα ἔχων ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ ἔμεινε, καὶ ξὺν  
 41 αὐτῷ Ἑννης τε καὶ Παῦλος. ὥστε ἀνάγκη οἱ  
 τῆς πόλεως οἰκήτορες ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰεὶ τὴν  
 φυλακὴν εἶχον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιγούροις ἐφέρετο  
 τῇδε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τρίτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα  
 τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XIII

Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐπὶ τε  
 Οὐίτιγγιν καὶ τὸ Γότθων στρατόπεδον ἦει, ὀλί-  
 γους μὲν τινας φρουρὰς ἕνεκα ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπολιπὼν,  
 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος.  
 2 πέμψας τέ τινας ἐς Τουδίραν τε καὶ Κλούσιον  
 χαρακώματα ἐπήγγειλε ποιεῖσθαι, οἷς δὴ ἔψεσθαι  
 τε ἔμελλε καὶ ξυμπολιορκήσειν τοὺς τῇδε βαρ-  
 3 βάρους. οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ προσιόντα τὸν στρατὸν  
 ἔμαθον, οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον πρέσβεις  
 τε παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔπεμψαν καὶ παραδώσειν  
 ὁμολογία σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλιν ἑκατέραν  
 ὑπέσχοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μέινωσι. παρα-  
 γενομένῳ τέ οἱ ἐπιτελῇ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐποιήσαντο.

when the Romans were least expecting them. At any rate the Romans, through this action, found it impossible to bring in any kind of provisions, but they were immediately in distress for want of necessities. Indeed, even the guarding of the walls was not being maintained by the regular soldiers, for it so happened that Mundilas had occupied all the cities near Milan which had defences, namely Bergomum, Comum, and Novaria,<sup>1</sup> as well as some other strongholds, and in every place had established a considerable garrison, while he himself with about three hundred men remained in Milan, and with him Ennes and Paulus. Consequently and of necessity the inhabitants of the city were regularly keeping guard in turn. Such was the progress of events in Liguria, and the winter drew to its close, and the third year came to an end in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

### XIII

AND Belisarius at about the time of the summer solstice marched against Vittigis and the Gothic army, leaving a few men to act as a garrison in Rome, but taking all the others with him. And he sent some men to Tudera and Clusium, with orders to make fortified camps there, and he was intending to follow them and assist in besieging the barbarians at those places. But when the barbarians learned that the army was approaching, they did not wait to face the danger, but sent envoys to Belisarius, promising to surrender both themselves and the two cities, with the condition that they should remain free from harm. And when he came there, they fulfilled their

<sup>1</sup> Modern Bergamo, Como, and Novara.

- 1 ὁ δὲ Γότθους μὲν ἅπαντας ἐνθένδε ἀναστήσας  
ἐπὶ Σικελίας τε καὶ Νεαπόλεως ἔπεμψεν, ἐν δὲ  
Κλουσίῳ καὶ Τουδέρα φρουρὰν καταστησάμενος  
πρόσω ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα.
- 5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐίττιγισ στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ  
ἄρχοντα Οὐάκιμον ἐς Αὐξιμον πέμψας τοῖς ἐκείνῃ  
Γότθοις ἐκέλευεν ἀναμίγνυσθαι, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς  
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀγκῶνι πολεμίους ἰόντας ἀποπει-  
6 ράσασθαι τοῦ ταύτῃ φρουρίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀγκῶν  
οὗτος πέτρα τίς ἐστιν ἐγγώνιος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν  
προσηγορίαν εἴληφε ταύτην· ἀγκῶνι γὰρ ἐπὶ  
7 πλείστον ἐμφερὴς ἐστιν. ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους  
ὀγδοήκοντα πόλεως μάλιστα Αὐξιμόν, ἧς δὴ ἐστιν  
ἐπίνκιον. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ φρουρίου ὀχύρωμα ἐπὶ  
πέτρας τῆς ἐγγωνίου ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κεῖται, τὰ δὲ  
8 ἐκτὸς ἅπαντα οἰκοδομήματα, καίπερ ὄντα πολλά,  
ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀτείχιστα ἦν. Κύνων δέ, ὡς τῇ τοῦ  
χωρίου φυλακῇ ἐφειστήκει, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς  
ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐάκιμον ἤκουσεν ἐπιέναι τε καὶ ἡδὴ  
9 γίστου γνώμης. παρὰ φαῦλον γὰρ ἡγησάμενος  
τό τε φρούριον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ φρουρίου οἰκήτορας  
ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς διασώσα-  
σθαι, τὸ μὲν ὀχύρωμα εἶασε παντάπασι στρατιω-  
τῶν ἔρημον, ἅπαντας δὲ ἀπαγαγὼν ὅσον ἀπὸ  
σταδίων πέντε ὡς ἐς παράταξιν διεκόμεσεν, οὐ  
βαθεῖάν τινα τὴν φάλαγγα ποιησάμενος, ἀλλ'  
ὥστε τὴν ὑπώρειαν ὅλην ὥσπερ ἐς κυνηγέσιον  
10 περιβάλλεσθαι. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους  
πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντας εἶδον, στρέψαντες  
11 τὰ νῶτα ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον εὐθὺς ἔφυγον. ἐπιδιώ-  
ξαντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι

promise. And Belisarius removed all the Goths from these towns and sent them to Sicily and Naples, and after establishing a garrison in Clusium and in Tudera, he led his army forward.

But meanwhile Vittigis had sent another army, under command of Vacimus, to Auximus, commanding it to join forces with the Goths there, and with them to go against the enemy in Ancon and make an attempt upon that fortress. Now this Ancon is a sort of pointed rock, and indeed it is from this circumstance that it has taken its name; for it is exceedingly like an "elbow." And it is about eighty stades distant from the city of Auximus, whose port it is. And the defences of the fortress lie upon the pointed rock in a position of security, but all the buildings outside, though they are many, have been from ancient times unprotected by a wall. Now as soon as Conon, who was in command of the garrison of the place, heard that the forces of Vacimus were coming against him and were already not far away, he made an exhibition of thoughtless folly. For thinking it too small a thing to preserve free from harm merely the fortress and its inhabitants together with the soldiers, he left the fortifications entirely destitute of soldiers, and leading them all out to a distance of about five stades, arrayed them in line of battle, without, however, making the phalanx a deep one at all, but thin enough to surround the entire base of the mountain, as if for a hunt. But when these troops saw that the enemy were greatly superior to them in number, they turned their backs and straightway fled to the fortress. And the barbarians, following close upon them, slew on the spot

- οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου εἰσιέναι,<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ  
ἐκτειναν, κλίμακας δὲ τῷ τείχει ἐρείσαντες, τῆς  
ἀνόδου ἀπεπειράσαντο. τινὲς δὲ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ  
12 φρουρίου οἰκία ἔκαιον. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ καὶ πρό-  
τερον τὸ φρούριον ᾤκουν, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκτε-  
πληγμένοι, προανακλίναντες τὴν πυλίδα, κόσμῳ  
13 οὐδενὶ φεύγοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδέχοντο. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄγχιστα ἐγκειμένους τοῖς  
φεύγουσιν εἶδον, ὅπως μὴ συνεισβάλλωσι δεῖσαι-  
τες, τὰς μὲν πύλας κατὰ τάχος ἐπέθεντο, ἐκ δε-  
τῶν ἐπάλξεων βρόχους καθέντες, ἄλλους τέ τινας  
14 καὶ Κόνωνα αὐτὸν ἀνέλκοντες διεσώσαντο. ταῖς  
μέντοι κλίμαξιν ἀνιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι παρ' ὀλίγον  
ἦλθον τὸ φρούριον κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν, εἰ μὴ  
ἄνδρες δύο, ἔργα θαυμάσια ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ἤδη  
αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι γενομένους ἀρετῇ  
ᾤσαντο, ὧν ὁ μὲν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἦν ἐκ  
Θράκης, Οὐλιμουθ ὄνομα, ὁ δὲ Βαλεριανοῦ, Γου-  
15 βουλγουδοῦ, Μασσαγέτης γένος. τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ  
ἀνδρὶ τύχῃ μὲν τινὶ καταπεπλευκότε ὀλίγῳ πρό-  
τερον ἐς τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἐτυχέτην· ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ  
τούτῳ τοὺς ἀνιόντας τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τὸ  
μὲν φρούριον παρὰ δόξαν ἔσωσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμι-  
θνήτες καὶ τὸ σῶμα κρεουργηθέντες ὅλον ἐνθένδε  
ἀπεκομίσθησαν.
- 16 Τότε Βελισαρίῳ Ναρσῆς ξὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ  
ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκειν καὶ ἐν Πικηνοῖς εἶναι ἡγγέλ-  
λετο. ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> εἰσιέναι K : γενέσθαι L.

most of their number—those who did not succeed in getting inside the circuit-wall in time—and then placed ladders against the wall and attempted the ascent. Some also began burning the houses outside the fortress. And the Romans who resided habitually in the fortress, being terror-stricken at what was taking place, at first opened the small gate and received the soldiers as they fled in complete disorder. But when they saw the barbarians close at hand and pressing upon the fugitives, fearing that they would charge in with them, they closed the gates as quickly as they could, and letting down ropes from the battlement, saved a number by drawing them up, and among them Conon himself. But the barbarians scaled the wall by means of their ladders and came within a little of capturing the fortress by storm, and would have succeeded if two men had not made a display of remarkable deeds by valorously pushing off the battlements those who had already got upon the wall; one of these two was a bodyguard of Belisarius, a Thracian named Ulimuth, and the other a bodyguard of Valerian, named Gouboulgoudou, a Massagete by birth. These two men had happened by some chance to come by ship to Ancon a little before; and in this struggle, by warding off with their swords those who were scaling the wall, they saved the fortress contrary to expectation, but they themselves were carried from the battlement half dead, their whole bodies hacked with many wounds.

At that time it was reported to Belisarius that Narses had come with a great army from Byzantium and was in Picenum. Now this Narses<sup>1</sup> was a eunuch

<sup>1</sup> He was an Armenian of Persia; see Book I. xv. 31.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίας, ἄλλως δὲ ὄξυν  
 17 καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' εὐνοῦχον δραστήριος. στρα-  
 τιῶται δὲ αὐτῷ πεντακισχίλιοι εἶποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι  
 τε κατὰ συμμορίας ἡγούντο καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ τῶν  
 Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ Ναρσῆς ἕτερος, ἐξ Ἀρ-  
 μενίων τῶν Πέρσαις κατηκόντων αὐτόμολος ἐς τὰ  
 Ῥωμαίων ἡθῆ πρότερον ξὺν Ἀρατίῳ τὰδελφῷ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἦκων, ὡς ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ξὺν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ  
 18 παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐλθὼν ἔτυχεν. εἶποντο δὲ οἱ  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἑρούλων ἔθνους δισχίλιοι μάλιστα, ὧν  
 Οὐίσανδός τε καὶ Ἀλουίθ καὶ Φανίθεος ἦρχον.

### XIV

Οἵτινες δὲ ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν Ἑρουλοι καὶ ὅθην  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν κατέστησαν ἐρῶν ἔρχο-  
 μαί. ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ  
 ὥκουν πολὺν τινα νομίζοντες θεῶν ὄμιλον, οὓς δὲ  
 καὶ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαις ἱλάσκεσθαι ὅσιον αὐτοῖς  
 2 ἐδόκει εἶναι. νόμοις δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐτέροις ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ γηρά-  
 σκουνσιν οὔτε νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς βιοτεύειν ἐξῆν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπειδάν τις αὐτῶν ἢ γῆρῃ ἢ νόσῳ ἀλγῇ, ἐπάναγκές  
 οἱ ἐγίνετο τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς αἰτεῖσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα  
 3 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίξουσιν. οἱ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ  
 ἐς μέγα τι ὕψος ξυννήσαντες καθίσαντές τε τὸν  
 ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ τῶν ξύλων ὑπερβολῇ, τῶν τινα  
 Ἑρούλων, ἀλλότριον μέντοι, ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ παρ'

<sup>1</sup> τὰδελφῷ L: om. K.

and guardian of the royal treasures, but for the rest keen and more energetic than would be expected of a eunuch. And five thousand soldiers followed him, of whom the several detachments were commanded by different men, among whom were Justinus, the general of Illyricum, and another Narses, who had previously come to the land of the Romans as a deserter from the Armenians who are subject to the Persians; with him had come his brother Aratius,<sup>1</sup> who, as it happened, had joined Belisarius a little before this with another army. And about two thousand of the Erulian nation also followed him, commanded by Visandus and Aluith and Phanitheus.

## XIV

Now as to who in the world the Eruli are, and how they entered into alliance with the Romans, I shall forthwith explain.<sup>2</sup> They used to dwell beyond the Ister<sup>3</sup> River from of old, worshipping a great host of gods, whom it seemed to them holy to appease even by human sacrifices. And they observed many customs which were not in accord with those of other men. For they were not permitted to live either when they grew old or when they fell sick, but as soon as one of them was overtaken by old age or by sickness, it became necessary for him to ask his relatives to remove him from the world as quickly as possible. And these relatives would pile up a quantity of wood to a great height and lay the man on top of the wood, and then they would send one of the Eruli, but not a relative of the man, to his side

<sup>1</sup> Book I. xv. 31.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Book IV. iv. 30.<sup>3</sup> Modern Danube.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 4 αὐτὸν ἔπεμπον· ξυγγενῇ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν φονέα  
εἶναι οὐ θέμις. ἐπειδὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ ξυγγε-  
νοῦς φονεὺς ἐπανήει, ξύμπαντα ἔκαιον αὐτίκα τὰ  
5 ξύλα, ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀρξάμενοι. παυσαμένης  
τε αὐτοῖς τῆς φλογὸς ξυλλέξαντες τὰ ὅστ' αἱ ἐν τῷ  
6 παραυτίκα<sup>1</sup> τῇ γῇ ἔκρυπτον. Ἐρουλοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς  
τελευτήσαντος ἐπάνταγκες τῇ γυναικὶ ἀρετῆς τε  
μεταποιουμένη καὶ κλέος αὐτῇ ἐθελούσῃ λείπε-  
σθαι βρόχον ἀναφασμένη παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς  
7 τάφον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν θνήσκειν. οὐ ποιούσῃ τε  
ταῦτα περιεισὶ γίκει τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδόξω τε εἶναι  
καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συγγενέσι προσκεκρουκέναι.  
τοιούτοις μὲν ἐχρῶντο Ἐρουλοι τὸ παλαιὸν νόμοις.  
8 Προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου δυνάμει τε καὶ πολυαι-  
θρωπία τῶν περιοίκων βαρβάρων ἀπάντων καθ-  
υπέρτεροι γεγεννημένοι, ἐπιόντες τε, ὥς τὸ εἶκος,  
9 ἐκάστους ἐνίκων καὶ βιαζόμενοι ἐληΐζοντο. καὶ  
τελευτῶντες Λαγγοβάρδας τε Χριστιανούς ὄντας  
καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ἔθνη ὑπήκοα σφίσιν ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν  
φύρου πεποιήνται, οὐκ εἰθισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα  
τοῦτο τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοχρημα-  
10 τίας τε καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐνταῦθα ἡγμένοι. ἡνίκα  
μέντοι Ἀναστάσιος Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν παρ-  
έλαβεν, οὐκ ἔχοντες Ἐρουλοι ἐφ' οὔστινας ἀν-  
θρώπους τὸ λοιπὸν ἔλθοιεν, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα  
ἡσυχῇ ἔμενοι, χρόνος τε αὐτοῖς ἐνιαυτῶν τριῶν ἐν  
11 ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐτρίβη. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς ἄγαν  
ἀχθόμενοι Ῥοδοῦλφον ἀνέδην σφῶν τὸν ἡγεμόνα  
ἐκάκιζον, φοιτῶντές τε αἰὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μαλθακὸν  
τε καὶ γυναικῶδη<sup>2</sup> ἐκάλουν, ἄλλοις τέ τισιν

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα Κραθενιννικόν : om K, τῷ παραυτίκα L.

<sup>2</sup> γυναικῶδη L : γυναῖκα K.

with a dagger ; for it was not lawful for a kinsman to be his slayer. And when the slayer of their relative had returned, they would straightway burn the whole pile of wood, beginning at the edges. And after the fire had ceased, they would immediately collect the bones and bury them in the earth. And when a man of the Eruli died, it was necessary for his wife, if she laid claim to virtue and wished to leave a fair name behind her, to die not long afterward beside the tomb of her husband by hanging herself with a rope. And if she did not do this, the result was that she was in ill repute thereafter and an offence to the relatives of her husband. Such were the customs observed by the Eruli in ancient times.

But as time went on they became superior to all the barbarians who dwelt about them both in power and in numbers, and, as was natural, they attacked and vanquished them severally and kept plundering their possessions by force. And finally they made the Lombards, who were Christians, together with several other nations, subject and tributary to themselves, though the barbarians of that region were not accustomed to that sort of thing ; but the Eruli were led to take this course by love of money and a lawless spirit. When, however, Anastasius took over the Roman empire, the Eruli, having no longer anyone in the world whom they could assail, laid down their arms and remained quiet, and they observed peace in this way for a space of three years. But the people themselves, being exceedingly vexed, began to abuse their leader Rodolphus without restraint, and going to him constantly they called him cowardly and effeminate, and railed at him in a

491 A.D.

- αὐτὸν ἐρεσχελοῦντες ὀνόμασι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐλοι-  
 12 δοροῦντο. Ῥοδοῦλφος τε τὴν ὕβριν ὡς ἥκιστα  
 φέρων ἐπὶ Λαγγοβάρδας οὐδὲν ἀδικοῖντας ἐστρά-  
 τευσεν, οὔτε τινὰ σφίσιν ἁμαρτάδα ἐπενεγκὼν  
 οὔτε λύσιν τινὰ τῶν ξυγκειμένων σκηψάμενος,<sup>1</sup>  
 13 ἀλλὰ πόλεμον ἐπιφέρων αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντα. ὅπερ  
 ἐπειδὴ Λαγγοβάρδαι ἀκοῇ ἔλαβον, πέμψαντες  
 παρὰ τὸν Ῥοδοῦλφον ἀνεπυνθάνοντο καὶ τὴν  
 αἰτίαν ἠξίουσι εἰπεῖν ἧς δὴ ἔνεκα Ἑρουλοι ἐν  
 ὅπλοις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴοιεν, ὁμολογοῦντες, εἰ μὲν τι  
 ἀπεστερήκασιν τοῦ φόρου,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' αὐτίκα μάλα ξὺν  
 μεγάλῳ αὐτὸ ἀποτίσειν· εἰ δὲ μέμφονται μέτριον  
 σφίσι τετάχθαι τὸν φόρον, ἀλλὰ μείζω ποιήσκειν  
 αὐτὸν οὐ μήποτε Λαγγοβάρδαι ὀκνηροὶ ἔσονται.  
 14 ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς πρέσβεις προτεινομένους ξὺν  
 ἀπειλῇ ὁ Ῥοδοῦλφος ἀποπεμφάμενος πρόσω  
 ἤλαινεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐθις πρέσβεις ἑτέρους πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν στείλαντες περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλὰ λιπα-  
 15 ροῦντες ἰκέτευον. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων  
 ἀπαλλαγέντων τρίτοι πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἤκου-  
 τες ἀπείπον<sup>3</sup> Ἑρούλους πόλεμον ἀπροφάσιστον  
 16 μηδαμῶς σφίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν. ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι γνώμη  
 τοιαύτη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἐκούσιοι,  
 ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα ἠναγκασμένοι, ἀντιτάσσονται  
 τοῖς ἐπιούσι, μαρτυράμενοι τὸν θεόν, οὐπερ τῆς  
 ῥοπῆς καὶ βραχεῖά τις τὸ παράπαν ἰκμὰς πάσῃ  
 τῇ ἀνθρώπων δυνάμει ἀντίξους ἔσται· αὐτὸν τε  
 εἰκὸς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίαις ἠγμένον ἀμφοτέ-  
 17 ροις πρυτανεῦσαι τῆς μάχης τὸ πέραν. οἱ μὲν  
 ταῦτα εἶπον, δεδίσσεσθαι ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐπιόντας

<sup>1</sup> σκηψάμενος K : σκεψάμενος L.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ φόρου K : τῆς εἰσφορᾶς L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπείπον Krašeninnikov : ἀπειπεῖν K, ἐπείπουν L.

most unruly manner, taunting him with certain other names besides. And Rodolphus, being quite unable to bear the insult, marched against the Lombards, who were doing no wrong, without charging against them any fault or alleging any violation of their agreement, but bringing upon them a war which had no real cause. And when the Lombards got word of this, they sent to Rodolphus and made enquiry and demanded that he should state the charge on account of which the Eruli were coming against them in arms, agreeing that if they had deprived the Eruli of any of the tribute, then they would instantly pay it with large interest; and if their grievance was that only a moderate tribute had been imposed upon them, then the Lombards would never be reluctant to make it greater. Such were the offers which the envoys made, but Rodolphus with a threat sent them away and marched forward. And they again sent other envoys to him on the same mission and supplicated him with many entreaties. And when the second envoys had fared in the same way, a third embassy came to him and forbade the Eruli on any account to bring upon them a war without excuse. For if they should come against them with such a purpose, they too, not willingly, but under the direst necessity, would array themselves against their assailants, calling upon God as their witness, the slightest breath of whose favour, turning the scales, would be a match for all the strength of men; and He, in all likelihood, would be moved by the causes of the war and would determine the issue of the fight for both sides accordingly. So they spoke, thinking in this way to terrify their assailants,



- οιόμενοι, Ἐρουλοὶ δέ, ὑποστειλάμενοι τῶν πάντων οὐδέν, Λαγγοβάρδαις ἔγνωσαν ἐς χεῖρας ἵεναι.
- 18 ἡνίκα δὲ ἀμφοτέροι ἀγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, τὸν μὲν ὑπερθεὺς Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἀέρα ξυνέβαινε μελαίνῃ τινὶ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐς ἄγαν παχέα καλύπτεσθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοὺς Ἐρούλους αἰθρίαν
- 19 ὑπερφυῶς εἶναι. οἷς δὴ τεκμηριούμενος εἶκασεν ἂν τις ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν πονηρῷ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν Ἐρούλους ἵεναι· οὐ γάρ τι τούτου πικρότερον βαρβάροις τέρας εἰς μάχην καθισταμένοις οἶόν τε
- 20 εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτῳ Ἐρουλοὶ προσείχον τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀφροντιστήσαντες πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν, πληθύνει ὁμίλου τὸ τοῦ πολέμου σταθμώ-
- 21 μενοι πέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γέγονε, θνήσκουσι μὲν τῶν Ἐρούλων πολλοί, θνήσκει δὲ καὶ Ῥοδοῦλφος αὐτός, οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι.
- 22 καὶ τῶν πολεμίων σφίσιν ἐπισπομένων οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες διεσώθησαν.
- 23 Διὸ δὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἤθεσι τοῖς πατρώοις οὐκέτι εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐξαναστάντες ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ ἐχώρουν, τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν ἢ ἐκτός<sup>1</sup> Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ ξύν τε παισὶ καὶ
- 24 γυναιξὶ περιούντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοιντο ἐς χώραν οὐ δὴ Ῥογοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ὤκηντο, οἱ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀναμιχθέντες ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρησαν, ἐν-
- 25 ταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἄτε ἐν χώρα ἐρήμῳ ἐνθένδε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐξαναστάντες, ἀγχιστά που τῆς Γηπαίδων χώρας

<sup>1</sup> ἐκτός Maltretus: ἐν τοῖς K, ἐντὸς L.

but the Eruli, shrinking from nothing whatever, decided to meet the Lombards in battle. And when the two armies came close to one another, it so happened that the sky above the Lombards was obscured by a sort of cloud, black and very thick, but above the Eruli it was exceedingly clear. And judging by this one would have supposed that the Eruli were entering the conflict to their own harm; for there can be no more forbidding portent than this for barbarians as they go into battle. However, the Eruli gave no heed even to this, but in absolute disregard of it they advanced against their enemy with utter contempt, estimating the outcome of war by mere superiority of numbers. But when the battle came to close quarters, many of the Eruli perished and Rodolphus himself also perished, and the rest fled at full speed, forgetting all their courage. And since their enemy followed them up, the most of them fell on the field of battle and only a few succeeded in saving themselves.

For this reason the Eruli were no longer able to tarry in their ancestral homes, but departing from there as quickly as possible they kept moving forward, traversing the whole country which is beyond the Ister River, together with their wives and children. But when they reached a land where the Rogi dwelt of old, a people who had joined the Gothic host and gone to Italy, they settled in that place. But since they were pressed by famine, because they were in a barren land, they removed from there not long afterward, and came to a place close to the country of the

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 26 ἀφίκοντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς Γήπαιδες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα  
 27 ἰκέτας γενομένους ἐνοικίζεσθαι τε καὶ προσοίκου-  
 αῖς σφίσι ξυνεχώρουν εἶναι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἤρξαντο ἐξ  
 αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείκνυ-  
 σθαι. γυναῖκάς τε γὰρ ἐβιάζοντο καὶ βουὴς τε καὶ  
 ἄλλα χρήματα ἤρπαζον, καὶ ἀδικίας οὐδ' ὅτιοι  
 ὑπελείποντο, καὶ τελευτῶντες ἀδίκων χειρῶν ἐς  
 28 αὐτοὺς ἤρχον. ἅπερ Ἑρουλοὶ φέρειν τὸ λοιπὸν  
 οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες Ἰστρον τε ποταμὸν διαβαίνουσι  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίοις προσοικεῖν ἔγνωσαν.  
 Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα<sup>1</sup> ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος,  
 ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ δεξάμενος  
 29 ἰδρύεσθαι αὐτοῦ εἴασε. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ  
 ὕστερον προσκεκρούκασιν αὐτῷ οἱ βάρβαροι  
 οὗτοι, ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐργασάμενοι τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥω-  
 μαίους· διὸ δὴ στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε.  
 30 νικήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαῖοι πλείστους μὲν  
 ἐκτείναν, ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ξύμπαντας δια-  
 31 φθεῖραι γεγόνασιν. ἄλλ' εἰς ἰκετείαν τῶν στρα-  
 τηγῶν οἱ κατάλοιποι αὐτῶν γεγοιότες ἐδέοντο  
 διασώσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμάχους τε καὶ  
 32 βασιλέως ὑπηρέτας τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχειν. ταῦτά τε  
 μαθόντα τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἤρεσκε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 λειφθῆναι μὲν τισιν Ἑρούλων ξυνέβη, οὐ μέντοι  
 οὔτε ξύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίοις γεγέννηται οὔτε τι εἰσ-  
 γάσαντο αὐτοὺς ἀγαθόν.  
 33 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε  
 χώρα τε ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἄλλοις χρήμασιν αὐτοῖς,  
 δωρησάμενος, ἐταιρίζεσθαι<sup>2</sup> τε παντελῶς ἰσχυσε  
 31 καὶ Χριστιανούς γενέσθαι ἅπαντας ἔπεισε. διό-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοκράτορα L : αὐτοκράτορος K.

<sup>2</sup> ἐταιρίζεσθαι K : ἐταιρίαν λέγεσθαι L.

Gepaedes.<sup>1</sup> And at first the Gepaedes permitted them to dwell there and be neighbours to them, since they came as suppliants. But afterwards for no good reason the Gepaedes began to practise unholy deeds upon them. For they violated their women and seized their cattle and other property, and abstained from no wickedness whatever, and finally began an unjust attack upon them. And the Eruli, unable to bear all this any longer, crossed the Ister River and decided to live as neighbours to the Romans in that region; this was during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, who received them with great friendliness and allowed them to settle where they were. But a short time afterwards these barbarians gave him offence by their lawless treatment of the Romans there, and for this reason he sent an army against them. And the Romans, after defeating them in battle, slew most of their number, and had ample opportunity to destroy them all. But the remainder of them threw themselves upon the mercy of the generals and begged them to spare their lives and to have them as allies and servants of the emperor thereafter. And when Anastasius learned this, he was pleased, and consequently a number of the Eruli were left; however, they neither became allies of the Romans, nor did they do them any good.

But when Justinian took over the empire, he 527 A.D. bestowed upon them good lands and other possessions, and thus completely succeeded in winning their friendship and persuaded them all to become

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book III. ii. 2-6, VII. xxiv. 10.

περ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλόντες  
 τοῖς Χριστιανῶν νόμοις ἐπὶ πλείστον προσχωρεῖν  
 ἔγνωσαν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν τὰ  
 35 πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ξυντάσσονται. ἔτι  
 μέντοι αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ἄπιστοι καὶ πλεονεξία ἔχον-  
 μενοι βιάζεσθαι τοὺς πέλας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν,  
 36 οὐ φέροντος αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ  
 μίξεις οὐχ ὁσίας τελοῦσιν, ἄλλας τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν  
 καὶ ὄνων, καὶ εἰσι ποιηρότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάν-  
 των καὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι.  
 37 Ὅστερον δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔνσπονδοι  
 Ῥωμαίοις διέμειναν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν<sup>1</sup>  
 λόγοις γεγράφεται· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ἀπέστη-  
 38 σαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. Ἐρουλοὶ τὸ τοῦ τρό-  
 που θηριῶδες τε καὶ μαριῶδες ἐνδειξάμενοι ἐς τὸν  
 αὐτῶν ῥήγα (ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ Ὀχος ὄνομα),  
 ἐξαπιναίως τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας  
 ἔκτειναν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπενεγκόντες ἢ ὅτι ἀβασί-  
 39 λευτοὶ τὸ λοιπὸν βούλονται εἶναι. καίτοι καὶ  
 πρότερον ὄνομα μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν,  
 ἰδιώτου δὲ ὁτουοῦν οὐδὲν τι σχεδὸν ἐφέρετο πλέον.  
 40 ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυγκαθῆσθαι αὐτῷ ἅπαντες καὶ ξύσι-  
 τοι εἶναι ἠξίου, καὶ ἀνέδην ὅστις βούλοιο ἐς  
 41 αὐτὸν ὑβριζεν· ἀσυνθετώτεροι γὰρ ἢ ἀσταθμη-  
 τότεροι Ἐρούλων εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες. τοῦ  
 δὲ κακοῦ σφίσιν ἐξειργασμένου μετέμελεν ἡδῆ.  
 42 ἔφασκον γὰρ ἄναρχοί τε καὶ ἀστρατήγητοι βιο-  
 τεύειν οὐχ οἰοί τε εἶναι· πολλὰ γοῦν σφίσι βου-  
 λευσαμένοις ἄμεινον τῷ παντὶ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῶν  
 τινα γένους τοῦ βασιλείου μετακύψασθαι ἐκ  
 Θούλης τῆς νήσου. ὅ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτίκα  
 δηλώσω.

<sup>1</sup> ὀπισθεν Haug: ἐμπροσθεν MSS.

Christians. As a result of this they adopted a gentler manner of life and decided to submit themselves wholly to the laws of the Christians, and in keeping with the terms of their alliance they are generally arrayed with the Romans against their enemies. They are still, however, faithless toward them, and since they are given to avarice, they are eager to do violence to their neighbours, feeling no shame at such conduct. And they mate in an unholy manner, especially men with asses, and they are the basest of all men and utterly abandoned rascals.

Afterwards, although some few of them remained at peace with the Romans, as will be told by me in the following narrative,<sup>1</sup> all the rest revolted for the following reason. The Eruli, displaying their beastly and fanatical character against their own "rex," one Oehus by name, suddenly killed the man for no good reason at all, laying against him no other charge than that they wished to be without a king thereafter. And yet even before this, while their king did have the title, he had practically no advantage over any private citizen whomsoever. But all claimed the right to sit with him and eat with him, and whoever wished insulted him without restraint; for no men in the world are less bound by convention or more unstable than the Eruli. Now when the evil deed had been accomplished, they were immediately repentant. For they said that they were not able to live without a ruler and without a general; so after much deliberation it seemed to them best in every way to summon one of their royal family from the island of Thule. And the reason for this I shall now explain.

<sup>1</sup> Book VII. xxxiv. 42.



Ἦνικα Ἐρουλοι Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡσσηθέντες τῇ  
 μάχῃ ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἀνέστησαν,<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν  
 αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται, ὠκή-  
 σαντο ἐς τὰ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς χωρία, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι  
 Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτάς που τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 2 ἰδρύσαντο· οὗτοι γοῦν πολλῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου  
 αἵματος ἡγουμένων σφίσιν ἡμειψαν μὲν τὰ Σκλα-  
 βηνῶν ἔθνη ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ἔρημον δὲ χώραν  
 διαβάντες ἐνθένδε πολλήν<sup>2</sup> ἐς τοὺς Οὐάρνους  
 3 καλουμένους ἐχώρησαν. μεθ' οὓς δὴ καὶ Δανῶν  
 τὰ ἔθνη παρέδραμον οὐ βιαζομένων σφᾶς τῶν  
 4 τῇδε βαρβάρων. ἐνθένδε τε ἐς ὠκεανὸν ἀφικό-  
 μενοι ἐναυτίλλοντο, Θούλῃ τε προσχόντες τῇ  
 νήσῳ αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν.

Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Θούλῃ μεγίστη ἐς ἄγαν· Βρετ-  
 τανίας γὰρ αὐτὴν πλεον ἢ δεκαπλασίαν ξυμ-  
 5 βαίνει εἶναι. κεῖται δὲ αὐτῆς πολλῷ ἄποθεν  
 πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ γῇ  
 μὲν ἔρημος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τυγχάνει οὔσα,  
 ἐν χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἔθνη τριακαίδεκα  
 πολυανθρώποτατα ἱδρυται· βασιλεῖς τέ εἰσι  
 6 κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστον. ἐνταῦθα γίνεταιί τι ἀνὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέστησαν Herwerden : ἀνεστήσαντο K, ἔστησαν L.

<sup>2</sup> πολλήν L: πολλοὶ K.

<sup>1</sup> This has not been stated before by Procopius.

<sup>2</sup> Or Varini, a tribe living on the coast near the mouth of the Rhine.

<sup>3</sup> A group of tribes inhabiting the Danish Peninsula.

## XV

WHEN the Eruli, being defeated by the Lombards in the above-mentioned battle, migrated from their ancestral homes, some of them, as has been told by me above,<sup>1</sup> made their home in the country of Illyricum, but the rest were averse to crossing the Ister River, but settled at the very extremity of the world; at any rate, these men, led by many of the royal blood, traversed all the nations of the Sclaveni one after the other, and after next crossing a large tract of barren country, they came to the Varni,<sup>2</sup> as they are called. After these they passed by the nations of the Dani,<sup>3</sup> without suffering violence at the hands of the barbarians there. Coming thence to the ocean, they took to the sea, and putting in at Thule,<sup>4</sup> remained there on the island.

Now Thule is exceedingly large; for it is more than ten times greater than Britain. And it lies far distant from it toward the north. On this island the land is for the most part barren, but in the inhabited country thirteen very numerous nations are settled; and there are kings over each nation. In that place a very wonderful thing takes

<sup>1</sup> Probably Iceland or the northern portion of the Scandinavian peninsula, which was then regarded as an island and called "Scanza." The name of Thule was familiar from earlier times. It was described by the navigator Pytheas in the age of Alexander the Great, and he claimed to have visited the island. It was variously placed, but always considered the northernmost land in the world—"ultima Thule."

- πᾶν ἔτος θαυμάσιον οἶον. ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἀμφὶ  
 θερινὰς μὲν τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐς ἡμέρας τεσσαρά-  
 7 κοντα οὐδαμῇ δύει, ἀλλὰ διηλεκῶς πάντα τοῦτοι  
 ἡσسون ἢ ἔξ ὕστερον ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς πού  
 τροπὰς ἥλιος μὲν ἐς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα τῆς  
 νήσου ταύτης οὐδαμῇ φαίνεται, νύξ δὲ αὐτῆς  
 ἀπέραντος κατακέχυται· κατήφειά τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἔχει πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τοὺς τῇδε ἀνθρώ-  
 8 πους, ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι μεταξὺ οὐδεμίᾳ  
 μηχανῇ ἔχουσιν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐς ταύτην ἰέναι  
 τὴν νήσον τῶν τε εἰρημένων αὐτόπτηι γενέσθαι,  
 καίπερ γλιχομένῳ, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ξυτηνέχθῃ.  
 9 τῶν μέντοι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐνθένδε ἀφικομένων ἐπυνθα-  
 νόμην ὅπη ποτὲ οἰοί τέ εἰσι τῶν ἡμερῶν λογι-  
 ζεσθαι τὸ μέτρον οὔτε<sup>1</sup> ἀνίσχοντος οὔτε<sup>2</sup> δύοντος  
 τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις ἐνταῦθα ἡλίου. οἵπερ  
 10 ἐμοὶ λόγον ἀληθῆ τε καὶ πιστὸν ἔφρασαν. τὸν  
 γὰρ ἥλιόν<sup>3</sup> φασὶ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας  
 ἐκείνας οὐ δύειν μὲν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φαίνεσθαι  
 δὲ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις<sup>4</sup> πῇ μὲν πρὸς ἑώ, πῇ  
 11 δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἐπανιὼν αὐθις  
 ἀμφὶ τὸν ὀρίζοντά τε γινόμενος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν  
 ἀφίκεται χῶρον, οὔπερ αὐτὸν ἀνίσχοντα τὰ πρό-  
 12 τερα ἐώρων, ἡμέραν οὕτω καὶ νύκτα μίαν παρω-  
 χηκέναι διαριθμοῦνται. καὶ ἡνίκα μέντοι ὁ τῶν  
 νυκτῶν χρόνος ἀφίκεται, τῆς τε σελήνης τῶν τε  
 13 ἡμερῶν λογίζονται μέτρον. ὅπηνίκα δὲ πέντε

<sup>1</sup> εἰσι τῶν ἡμερῶν λογίζεσθαι τὸ μετ. οἱ οὔτε Hamy : om. MSS

<sup>2</sup> οὔτε K : εἴτε L. <sup>3</sup> ἥλιόν L : om. K.

<sup>4</sup> φαίνεσθαι . . . ἀνθρώποις K : φαίνεσθαι . . . ἀνθ. εἴματα. L.

place each year. For the sun at the time of the summer solstice never sets for forty days, but appears constantly during this whole time above the earth. But not less than six months later, at about the time of the winter solstice, the sun is never seen on this island for forty days, but never-ending night envelops it; and as a result of this dejection holds the people there during this whole time, because they are unable by any means to mingle with one another during this interval. And although I was eager to go to this island and become an eye-witness of the things I have told, no opportunity ever presented itself. However, I made enquiry from those who come to us from the island as to how in the world they are able to reckon the length of the days, since the sun never rises nor sets there at the appointed times. And they gave me an account which is true and trustworthy. For they said that the sun during those forty days does not indeed set just as has been stated, but is visible to the people there at one time toward the east, and again toward the west. Whenever, therefore, on its return, it reaches the same place on the horizon where they had previously been accustomed to see it rise, they reckon in this way that one day and night have passed. When, however, the time of the nights arrives, they always take note of the courses of the moon and stars and thus reckon the measure of the days. And when a time amounting to thirty-five

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<sup>5</sup> τε σελήνης τῶν τε ἄστρον Haury: τε σελήνης τῶν τε ἄλλων K, γε σελήνης τῶ ὀρᾶσθαι L.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν χρόνος τῇ μακρᾷ ταύτῃ  
 διαδράμοι νυκτί, στέλλονται τιες ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν  
 τὰς ὑπερβολάς, εἰθισμένον αὐτοῖς τοῦτό γε, τὸν  
 τε ἥλιον ἀμηγέπη ἐνθένδε ὁρῶντες ἀπαγγέλλουσι  
 τοῖς κάτω ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἥλιος  
 14 αὐτοὺς καταλάμψοι. οἱ δὲ πανδημεὶ πανηγυρί-  
 ζουσιν εὐαγγέλια καὶ ταῦτα ἐν σκότῳ. αὕτη τε  
 15 Θουλίταις ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἑορτῶν ἐστὶ. δοκοῦσι  
 γάρ μοι περιδεεῖς αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι,  
 καίπερ ταῦτό συμβαῖνον σφίσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος,  
 μὴ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιλείποι τὸ παράπαν ὁ ἥλιος.  
 16 Ὑπὸν δὲ ἰδρυμένων ἐν Θούλῃ βαρβάρων ἐν μόνον  
 ἔθνος, οἱ Σκριθίφιναι ἐπικαλοῦνται, θηριώδη τινα  
 βιοτὴν ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἱμάτια ἐνδιδύσκονται  
 οὔτε ὑποδεδεμένοι, ραδίζουσιν οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν  
 17 οὔτε τι ἐδῶδιμον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ  
 αὐτοὶ γῆν γεωργοῦσιν οὔτε τι αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες  
 ἐργάζονται, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρες αἰεὶ ξὺν ταῖς γυναῖξι  
 18 τὴν θήραν μόνῃν ἐπιτηδεύουσι. θηρίων τε γὰρ  
 καὶ ἄλλων ζώων μέγα τι χρήμα αἱ τε ὕλαι  
 αὐτοῖς φέρουσι, μεγάλα ὑπερφνωῶς οὔσαι, καὶ  
 19 τὰ ὄρη ἅ ταύτῃ<sup>1</sup> ἀνέχει. καὶ κρέασι μὲν θηρίων  
 αἰεὶ τῶν ἀλισκομένων σιτίζονται, τὰ δέρματα  
 δὲ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτοῖς οὔτε λίον οὔτε  
 ὄργανον ὅτῳ ράπτοιέν ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν θηρίων  
 τοῖς νεύροις τὰ δέρματα ἐς ἄλληλα ταῦτα ξυνδέ-  
 οντες οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἀμπίσχονται.  
 20 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ βρέφη αὐτοῖς κατὰ ταῦτά τιθη-  
 21 νονται τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. οὐ γὰρ σιτίζον-  
 ται Σκριθιφίνων παιδία γυναικῶν γάλακτι οὐδὲ  
 μητέρων ἄπτονται τιτθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ζώων τῶν ἀλι-

<sup>1</sup> τὰ ὄρη ἅ ταύτῃ L: ταύτῃ τὰ ὄρη K.

days has passed in this long night, certain men are sent to the summits of the mountains—for this is the custom among them—and when they are able from that point barely to see the sun, they bring back word to the people below that within five days the sun will shine upon them. And the whole population celebrates a festival at the good news, and that too in the darkness. And this is the greatest festival which the natives of Thule have; for, I imagine, these islanders always become terrified, although they see the same thing happen every year, fearing that the sun may at some time fail them entirely.

But among the barbarians who are settled in Thule, one nation only, who are called the Scythiphini, live a kind of life akin to that of the beasts. For they neither wear garments of cloth nor do they walk with shoes on their feet, nor do they drink wine nor derive anything edible from the earth. For they neither till the land themselves, nor do their women work it for them, but the women regularly join the men in hunting, which is their only pursuit. For the forests, which are exceedingly large, produce for them a great abundance of wild beasts and other animals, as do also the mountains which rise there. And they feed exclusively upon the flesh of the wild beasts slain by them, and clothe themselves in their skins, and since they have neither flax nor any implement with which to sew, they fasten these skins together by the sinews of the animals, and in this way manage to cover the whole body. And indeed not even their infants are nursed in the same way as among the rest of mankind. For the children of the Scythiphini do not feed upon the milk of women nor do they touch their mother's breast, but they are nourished upon



- 22 σκομένων τοῖς μυελοῖς ἐκτρέφονται μόνοις. ἐπει-  
δὲν οὖν γυνὴ τάχιστα τέκοι, δέρματι τὸ βρέφος  
ἐμβαλομένη κρεμᾶ μὲν εὐθύς ἐπὶ δένδρου τινός,  
μυελὸν δέ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐνθεμένη ξὺν τῷ  
ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν στέλλεται θήραν.<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ  
κοινῇ γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα δρῶσι καὶ <sup>2</sup> τὸ ἐπιτιγδευμα  
23 μετίασι τοῦτο. τούτοις μὲν οὖν δὴ τοῖς βαρ-  
βάροις τὰ ἐς τὴν διαίταν ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.  
Οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι Θουλίται ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες  
οὐδέν τι μέγα διαλλάσσουνσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώ-  
πων, θεοὺς μέντοι καὶ δαίμονας πολλοὺς σέβου-  
σιν, οὐρανίους τε καὶ ἀερίους, ἐγγεῖους τε καὶ  
θαλασσίους, καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα δαιμόνια ἐν ὕδασι  
24 πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν εἶναι λεγόμενα. θύουσι  
δὲ ἐνδελεχέστατα ἱερεῖα πάντα καὶ ἐναγίζουσι,  
τῶν δὲ ἱερείων σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνθρωπὸς  
ἐστίν ὅνπερ δορυάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτον·  
25 τοῦτον γὰρ τῷ Ἄρει θύουσιν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν  
νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι. ἱερεύονται δὲ τὸν  
αἰχμάλωτον οὐ θύοντες μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ  
ξύλου κρεμῶντες, καὶ <sup>3</sup> ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας ῥιπτοῦντες,  
ταῖς ἄλλαις τε κτείνοντες θανάτου ἰδέαις οἰκτί-  
26 σταις.<sup>4</sup> οὕτω μὲν Θουλίται βιοῦσιν. ὧν ἔθνος  
ἐν πολυάνθρωπον οἱ Γαυτοὶ εἰσι, παρ' οὓς δὴ  
Ἐρουλῶν τότε οἱ ἐπηλύται ἰδρύσαντο.  
27 Νῦν δὲ Ἐρουλοὶ οἱ δὴ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὥκηνται,  
φόνου σφίσι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξειργασμένου, ἔπεμ-  
ψαν τῶν λογίμων τινὰς ἐς Θούλην τὴν νῆσον,

<sup>1</sup> ξὺν . . . θήραν K : εὐθύς στέλλεται ἐπὶ θήραν L.

<sup>2</sup> τά τε . . . καὶ K : τοῖς ἀνδράσι L.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ K : ἢ L.

<sup>4</sup> οἰκτίσταις K : om. L.

the marrow of the animals killed in the hunt, and upon this alone. Now as soon as a woman gives birth to a child, she throws it into a skin and straightway hangs it to a tree, and after putting marrow into its mouth she immediately sets out with her husband for the customary hunt. For they do everything in common and likewise engage in this pursuit together. So much for the daily life of these barbarians.

But all the other inhabitants of Thule, practically speaking, do not differ very much from the rest of men, but they reverence in great numbers gods and demons both of the heavens and of the air, of the earth and of the sea, and sundry other demons which are said to be in the waters of springs and rivers. And they incessantly offer up all kinds of sacrifices, and make oblations to the dead, but the noblest of sacrifices, in their eyes, is the first human being whom they have taken captive in war; for they sacrifice him to Ares, whom they regard as the greatest god. And the manner in which they offer up the captive is not by sacrificing him on an altar only, but also by hanging him to a tree, or throwing him among thorns, or killing him by some of the other most cruel forms of death. Thus, then, do the inhabitants of Thule live. And one of their most numerous nations is the Gauti, and it was next to them that the incoming Eruli settled at the time in question.

On the present occasion,<sup>1</sup> therefore, the Eruli who dwelt among the Romans, after the murder of their king had been perpetrated by them, sent some of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chap. xiv. 42.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τοὺς διερευνησομένους τε καὶ κομιοῦντας, ἦν τινα  
 ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν αἵματος τοῦ βασιλείου οἰοί τε  
 28 ὦσιν. ἐπεὶ τε οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐγέ-  
 νοντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα γένους τοῦ βασιλείου  
 εὗρον, ἓνα μὲντοι ἀπολέξαντες ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς  
 29 μάλιστα ἤρεσκεν, ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφοντες ξὺν αὐτῷ  
 ἦσαν. ὃς δὴ ἐπεὶ ἐν Δανοῖς ἐγένετο,<sup>1</sup> τελευτᾷ  
 νόσῳ. διὸ δὴ αὖθις οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ  
 γεγόμενοι ἕτερον ἐπηγάγοντο Δάτιον ὄνομα. ᾧ  
 30 δὴ ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς Ἄορδος εἶπετο καὶ τῶν ἐν Θούλῃ  
 Ἐρούλων νεανίαι διακόσιοι. χρόνου δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ταύτῃ τριβέντος συχνοῦ Ἐρούλοις  
 τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σιγγιδόνου ἔννοια γέγονεν ὡς οὐ τὰ  
 ξύμφορα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιοῖεν ἐκ Θούλης ἀρχη-  
 31 γὸν ἐπαγόμενοι Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως οὔτι  
 ἐθελουσίον. πέμψαντες οὖν ἐς Βυζάντιον βασι-  
 32 λέως ἐδέοντο ἄρχοντα σφίσιν πέμψαι, ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ  
 βουλομένῳ εἴη. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν τινα Ἐρούλων  
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα ἔχοντα εὐθὺς  
 33 ἔπεμψε, Σουαρτούαν ὄνομα. ὃν περ Ἐρουλοι  
 εἶδον μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ προσεκύνησαν ἄσμενοι  
 ἐπιστέλλοντί τε τὰ εἰωθότα ἐπῆκουον· ἡμέραις  
 34 δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἠκέτις ἀγγέλλων τοὺς  
 ἐκ Θούλης νήσου ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι. καὶ Σου-  
 αρτούας μὲν ὡς ἀπολέσων<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς ὑπαντιάζειν  
 ἐκέλευεν, Ἐρουλοι δὲ τὸ βούλευμα ἐπαινέσαντες  
 35 εὐθὺς εἶποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀδῶ ἀλλήλων  
 διεῖχον, νύκτωρ μὲν ἀφέρτες αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἐς  
 36 τοὺς ἐπηλύτας αὐτόμολοι ἦλθον, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος  
 ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο. καὶ βασιλεῖς μὲν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ . . . ἐγένετο K : ἐπειδὴν ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο L.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἀπολέσων K : τοὺς ἀπολέσαντας L.

their notables to the island of Thule to search out and bring back whomsoever they were able to find there of the royal blood. And when these men reached the island, they found many there of the royal blood, but they selected the one man who pleased them most and set out with him on the return journey. But this man fell sick and died when he had come to the country of the Dani. These men therefore went a second time to the island and secured another man, Datus by name. And he was followed by his brother Aordus and two hundred youths of the Eruli in Thule. But since much time passed while they were absent on this journey, it occurred to the Eruli in the neighbourhood of Singidunum that they were not consulting their own interests in importing a leader from Thule against the wishes of the Emperor Justinian. They therefore sent envoys to Byzantium, begging the emperor to send them a ruler of his own choice. And he straightway sent them one of the Eruli who had long been sojourning in Byzantium, Suartuas by name. At first the Eruli welcomed him and did obeisance to him and rendered the customary obedience to his commands; but not many days later a messenger arrived with the tidings that the men from the island of Thule were near at hand. And Suartuas commanded them to go out to meet those men, his intention being to destroy them, and the Eruli, approving his purpose, immediately went with him. But when the two forces were one day's journey distant from each other, the king's men all abandoned him at night and went over of their own accord to the newcomers, while he himself took to flight and set out unattended for Byzantium. There

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πάση δυνάμει κατάγειν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν ἐν  
σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, Ἑρουλοὶ δὲ δύναντι τῶν  
Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες Γήπαισι προσχωρεῖν ἔγνω-  
σαν. αὕτη μὲν Ἑρούλοις αἰτία τῆς ἀποστάσεως  
γέγονε.

upon the emperor earnestly undertook with all his power to restore him to his office, and the Eruli, fearing the power of the Romans, decided to submit themselves to the Gepædes. This, then, was the cause of the revolt of the Eruli.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xiv. 37 introduces this topic.





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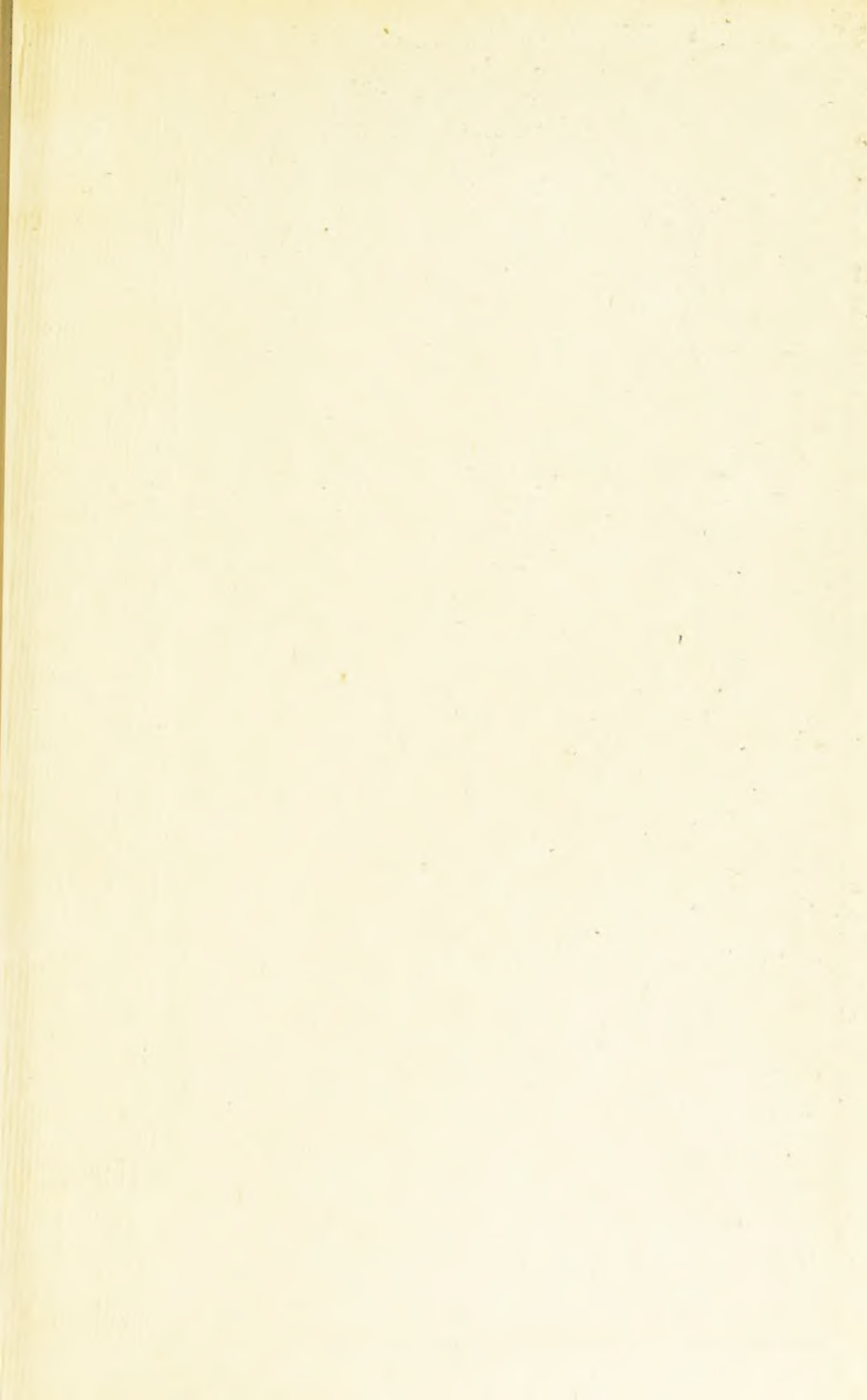
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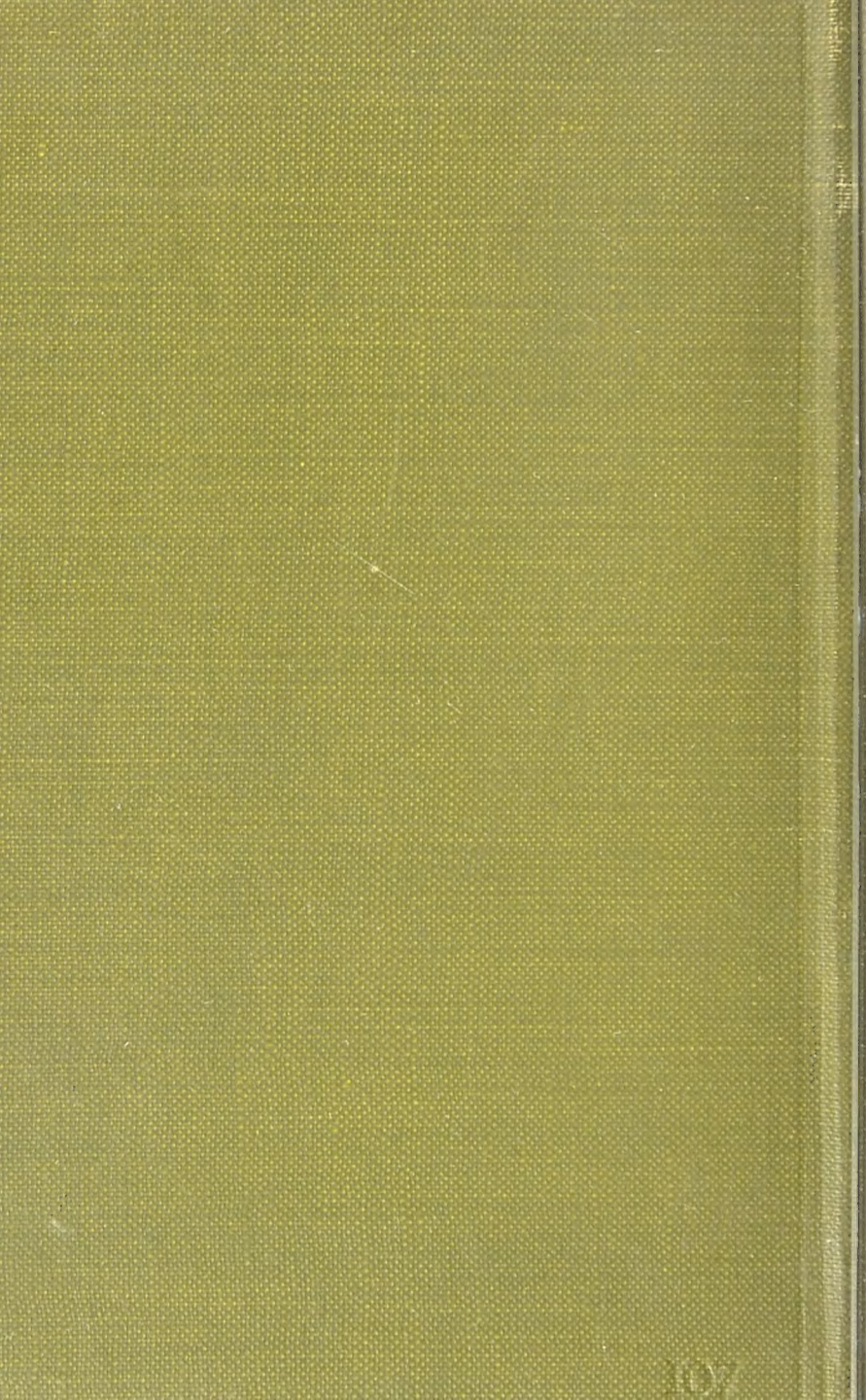
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